

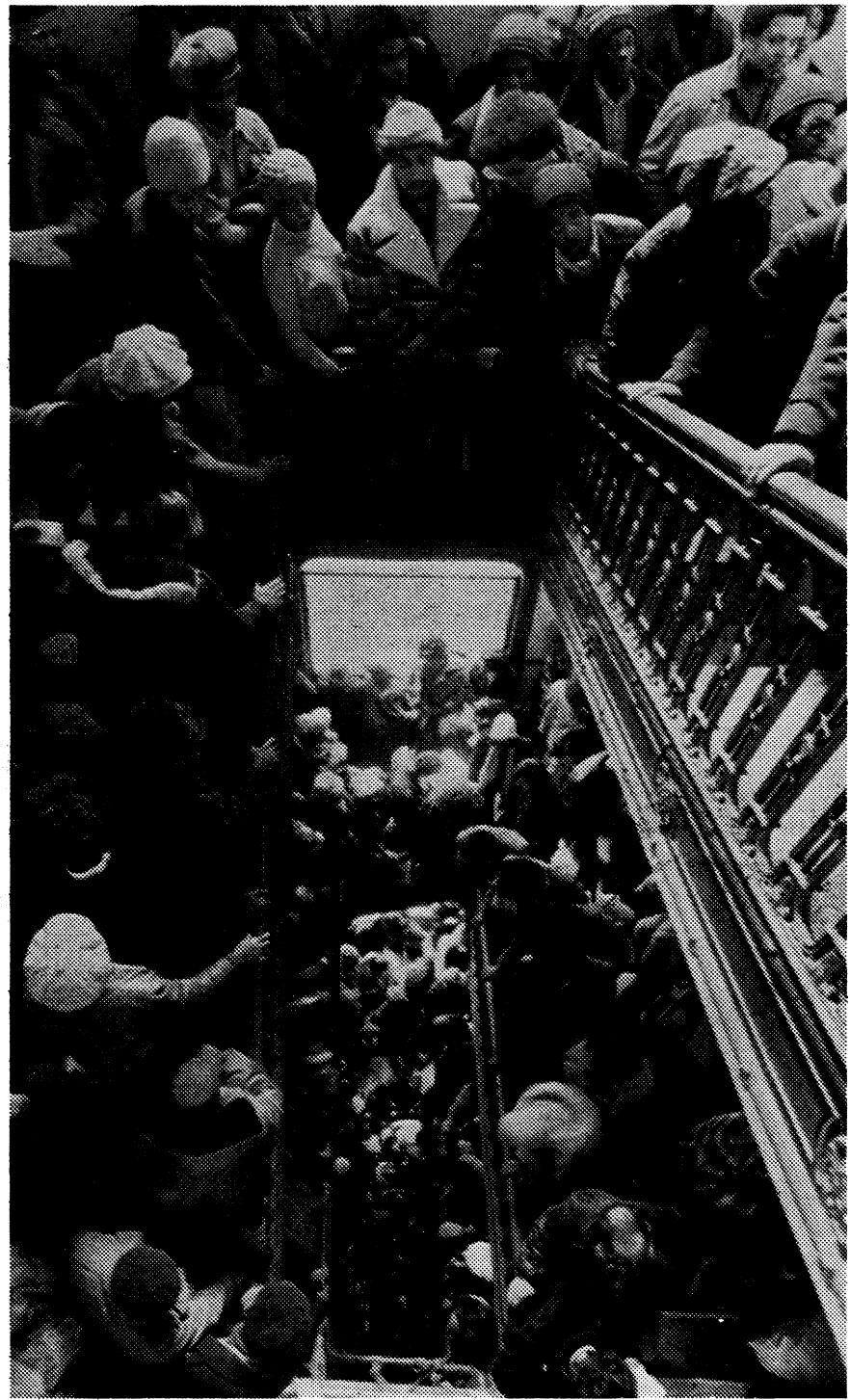
JANUARY 24, 1975

25 CENTS

VOLUME 39/NUMBER 2

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE



No hope for jobless in Ford economic program

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AN UNFAIR TRIAL? Last month, prosecutors in a 1972 trial of three North Carolina Black activists disclosed in court:

— That two state witnesses—the only ones linking the defendants to a fire that they were accused of setting—were each paid \$4,000 by the federal government for their testimony. The money deal was approved by convicted Watergate criminal Robert Mardian, who was then the assistant attorney general of the United States.

— That one of the prosecution witnesses, Walter Washington, was promised that he would not be prosecuted on a parole violation. Washington, a convicted armed robber diagnosed by Army doctors as schizophrenic, was a suspect in five murders at the time he testified, but was never prosecuted for any of them.

— And finally, that this information was withheld by the prosecution from the defense, judge, and jury in the original trial.

In July 1972, the three men—James Grant, T.J. Reddy, and Charles Parker—were sentenced to 25, 20, and 10 years imprisonment respectively. Judge Sam Ervin III—the son of U.S. Senator Sam Ervin—is in the process of deciding whether the defendants received a fair trial. The man will need the wisdom of Solomon to figure that one out.

NLRB RULES AGAINST MACMILLAN WORKERS: On Dec. 31, Local 153 of the Office & Professional Employees International Union (OPEIU), AFL-CIO, was informed that the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) was dismissing a union charge of unfair labor practice against the Macmillan publishing company.

The union brought the complaint to the board last October, when Macmillan suddenly fired close to 200 workers at its mid-town Manhattan offices.

The firings came immediately following Local 153's announcement that it was filing a petition with the NLRB for a union representation election at Macmillan. Many of those fired were activists in the union organizing committee and the Macmillan women's group.

In its response to the NLRB's dismissal of the complaint, Local 153 stated: "This decision proves that employees will have to rely on their own collective strength rather than depending upon governmental agencies to protect their rights. We must now renew our determination to win job security, fair working conditions, and living wages at Macmillan through a legally binding union contract."

UNION DRIVE AT PUTNAM'S WINS A ROUND: On Dec. 17 the NLRB handed down a ruling that will help the drive for unionization at G.P. Putnam's Sons publishing company. The NLRB ruled that the bargaining unit at Putnam's would include both clerical and editorial workers, as "a community of interest exists in the publishing business because the end product is ordinarily the result of the close cooperation and joint efforts of all departments."

The bosses have claimed that editorial and clerical workers should not be represented by the same bargaining unit because of a lack of "community of interest." Putnam's workers are to vote on the question of union representation by Local 153 of the OPEIU on Jan. 22.

OHIO EMERGENCY CONFERENCE ON ECONOMY: A conference on the economic crisis has been called by a group of 20 prominent political, religious, and trade-union leaders in Cleveland. The purpose is to "develop programs, policies and activities which can combat inflation and stop depression."

Among the sponsors are Sebastian Lupica, executive secretary, Cleveland AFL-CIO Federation of Labor; Reverend James Stallings, executive secretary, NAACP; Cora Licursi, president, Coalition of Labor Union Women; John Yates, CAP chairperson, United Auto Workers, Region 2; and Representative Louis Stokes. Dale Fenster, Cleveland Typographical Union No. 53, is coordinator of the conference.

It is open to all interested organizations and individuals, and will convene Sat., Feb. 1, at 1 p.m. at the ILGWU hall, 3233 Euclid Ave. There will be a \$10 registration fee.

NOW YOU SEE IT, NOW YOU DON'T: "Democratic Representatives voted today to abolish the House Internal Security Committee," reported the *New York Times* Jan. 14. According to the *Times*, "while it must be ratified by the whole House, today's action made it seem certain that the work of the committee would end."

Has the Democratic Party really broken with its witch-hunting past? Read on.

"With hardly a dissenting voice, members of the House Democratic Caucus voted to transfer to the House Judiciary Committee some of the functions and staff of the Internal Security Committee together with the files col-

lected by its predecessor, the House Un-American Activities Committee, on the alleged subversive work of more than 750,000 Americans."

Any questions?

ABORTION RIGHTS I: Three important court decisions reinforcing the legal right to abortion have been handed down. On Jan. 13 the U.S. Supreme Court unanimously affirmed a decision preventing Louisiana from suspending a doctor's license on charges that he performed an abortion in 1969. The decision indicated that the court would not permit states to punish doctors for abortions performed before the January 1973 decision legalizing them.

In a second decision issued the same day, the court refused a request by Pennsylvania to permit enforcement of a law requiring consent for abortions from a husband or parent, and banning the use of state or local welfare money to pay for abortions.

The third decision was handed down by the Washington State Supreme Court Jan. 11. The ruling overturned the conviction of Dr. A. Frans Koome for performing an abortion on an unmarried 16-year-old woman without her parents' permission. The court held that the parental permission requirement in Washington's abortion law was unconstitutional, saying that minors have constitutional rights and should not be subjected to an "absolute and potentially arbitrary parental veto" against abortion.

ABORTION II: In an attempt to circumvent the 1973 Supreme Court ruling legalizing abortions, the Boston district attorney's office has charged Dr. Kenneth Edelin with manslaughter in connection with a legal abortion he performed in 1973.

Dr. Edelin, chief resident in obstetrics and gynecology at Boston City Hospital, is accused of causing the "death by suffocation" of "Baby Boy Blank," a fetus of 20 to 24 weeks. His indictment came after a city council hearing at which fetal experimentation was denounced by politicians and anti-abortion groups.

Edelin's trial opened Jan. 10. Still to be tried under charges stemming from the same right-wing anti-abortion campaign are four doctors from Boston City Hospital who have been indicted under a nineteenth-century law against grave robbing. The four were involved in research with fetuses.

COMMEMORATION OF BLOODY SUNDAY MASSACRE: The Joint Action Committee for Irish Political Prisoners will hold a demonstration in front of British Airways in New York City, between Forty-fourth and Forty-fifth streets on Fifth Ave., Saturday, Jan. 25, from 2 to 5 p.m.

The demonstration will commemorate the 13 civil rights marchers who were massacred by British paratroopers in Derry on Bloody Sunday in 1972. It will be one of a number of demonstrations that will be taking place throughout the world. For further information contact the Joint Action Committee, c/o Irish Institute, 326 W. 48 St., New York, N.Y. 10036.

—DAVE FRANKEL

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Plenty for oil trusts

Ford program: no hope for jobless

By DICK ROBERTS

President Ford's State of the Union message Jan. 15 failed to offer solutions to any of the pressing problems facing working people here or abroad.

The United States is in its worst economic crisis since World War II. Unemployment is mounting across the country: In the last week of December 813,000 persons applied for unemployment insurance, the highest for a single week since the depression.

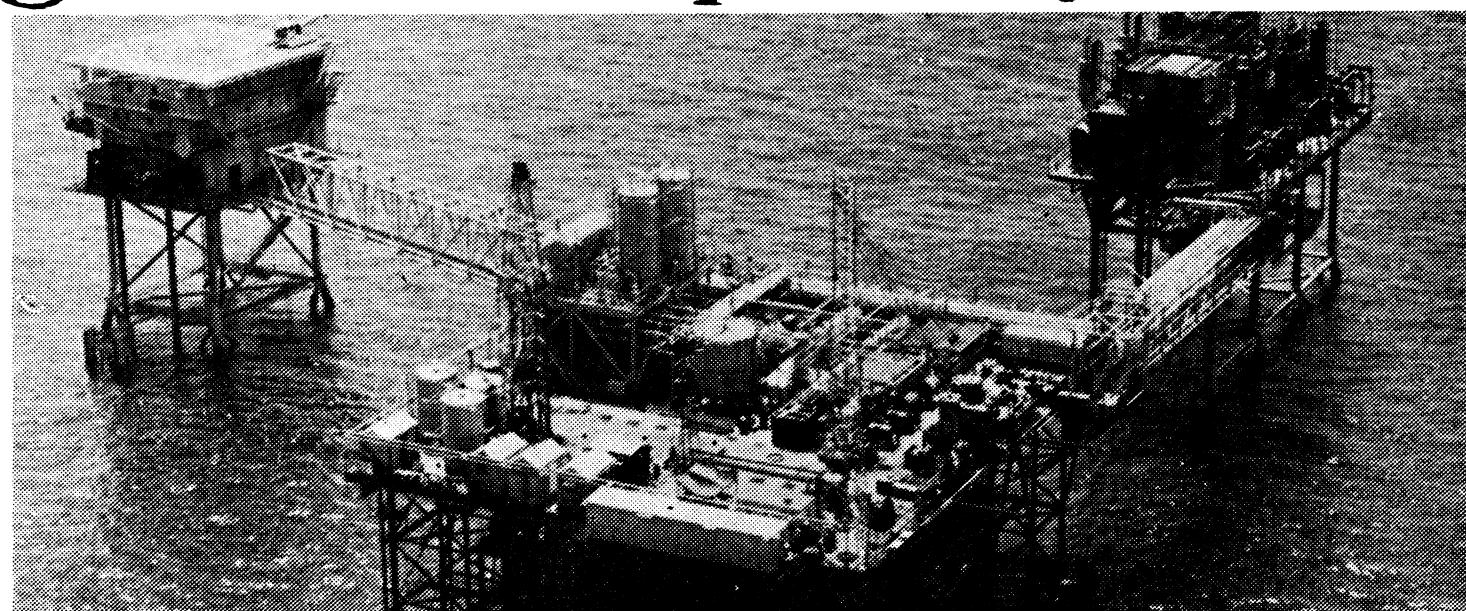
There is the real danger that the present U.S. recession could touch off a new world depression.

Yet the measures announced by Ford will not alleviate the unemployment in this country in any significant way.

They will increase the inflationary pressures in the economy—directly, through higher fuel prices, and indirectly, through bigger government deficits.

Ford had nothing to offer Blacks and other oppressed minorities, who are the hardest hit by the deepening crisis. Last month, Black unemployment rose from 11.7 to 12.8 percent, an increase nearly twice that suffered by whites.

Studiously ignoring attacks on the



Offshore oil rig. Ford proposes drastic increase in oil price to spur domestic oil production—and billions in profits for energy trust.

economic and civil rights of Black people, such as the current racist crusade to outlaw school busing in Boston, Ford blithely repeated Harry Truman's assertion that "all Americans do have a fairer chance to pursue happiness."

While millions of Americans are becoming increasingly alarmed about the threat of a U.S. invasion of the Middle East and the danger of a renewed direct military role in Vietnam, Ford resorted to jingoistic rhetoric and thinly veiled appeals for more war spending.

Declaring that the "international system is now in jeopardy" and that "at stake is the future of the industrialized democracies," Ford said, "Our military forces are strong and ready."

Tax sop

Ford proposed one sop for working people: reduced tax rates in 1975 and a "rebate" on 1974 taxes. But these will be completely insignificant for most working families.

New York Times financial expert Leonard Silk admitted Jan. 14 that "it will be difficult for many members of Congress representing working class constituencies to explain why they should go along with a proposal that would give \$1,000 to a taxpayer with \$40,000 income or more, but only about \$50 to the head of a family of four with an income of \$10,000, \$12 to a family of four with an income of \$5,000—and nothing at all to those with incomes too low for them to pay taxes."

Ford pretended that these tax measures would "turn the economy around." But it is hard to see how an infusion of merely \$16-billion—the total amount of the tax rebate—could have a significant effect on the economy.

The difference between what the economy could produce annually if there was no recession and what it is producing now is well over \$100-billion, and this gap is widening week by week.

Moreover, the rebate is supposed to come in two stages, with the first half not scheduled until May.

Ford also implied that money the government would take in on his proposed energy taxes, amounting to an expected \$30-billion altogether, would be spent to help revive the economy. But this refers to even more distant spending programs, some of which stretch out over the next decade.

The truth is that the American ruling class has decided against acting decisively at this stage to reduce unemployment. It believes that it can get away with still higher unemployment levels, provided people think the government is trying to do something

about unemployment.

In order to help foster this illusion, the capitalist press will give Ford's trifling tax rebate tremendous publicity.

At the same time, however, even the minimal steps outlined by Ford will increase the inflationary pressure in the economy. Ford indicated that this year's budget deficit could reach \$30-billion and next year's, \$45-billion.

Just before Ford made his speech it was announced that wholesale prices for the full year of 1974 had risen 20.9 percent. These higher wholesale prices will be passed on to consumers this year. Coupled with higher fuel prices the inflation rate could be even greater in 1975 than 1974.

On the energy front Ford proposed policies that any rational person might find hard to believe. For a year and a half the capitalist press and government have been propagandizing against higher oil prices "imposed by the Arab oil cartel."

Energy hoax

The American ruling class wants lower oil prices, right?

Wrong.

They want higher oil prices.

Higher oil prices have been the central aim of the oil trusts from the outset of the supposed "energy crisis." Ford, in his speech, went the farthest so far of any top-level public official in enunciating these aims.

In order to understand oil strategy it is important to grasp the two-sided policy of the oil trusts. On one side they want to raise world energy prices to a maximum in order to make it profitable to develop alternative sources of energy (coal, oil shale, offshore oil, and nuclear), which they couldn't produce profitably at lower world energy prices.

At the same time, they are trying

For an editorial on the "state of the union," see page 10.

to undermine the consumption of OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) oil in order to drive down the price they must pay OPEC countries for the oil.

That is the catch. OPEC oil is purchased by the oil trusts and marketed by them internationally. Thus, while the oil trusts would purchase OPEC oil more cheaply, they could still sell

Continued on next page

Atlanta: thousands try for a handful of jobs

ATLANTA—Bill Boyd is 24 years old. Al Billings is 19. They are both members of the Young Socialist Alliance, but on Jan. 10 there was nothing to mark them off from

the 3,000 other people who turned out at the Atlanta civic center in hopes of landing one of 225 newly created public service jobs.

Boyd, a carpenter, has been out of work since Oct. 27 and is getting \$70 a week in unemployment insurance.

"How long does it have to run?" "About six more weeks."

"What are you going to do then?" "Well, hopefully I'll have a job. Or there'll be some extension. I don't know. I really don't."

Billings, a freelance photographer, has been out of a job for almost a year. He doesn't get any unemployment, and he has to rely on parents and friends.

When news of the job openings went around, they went down together to apply. Billings is Black and Boyd is white, but the crowd as a whole reflected the unemploy-

ment scene in Atlanta—it was almost totally Black, mostly composed of people in their early twenties, and with many Vietnam veterans.

When the people waiting outside were finally allowed to enter the civic center, a glass door panel was broken by the pressure of the crowd and four people were hurt. Extra police were called out—"They labeled it a riot," Billings said.

Atlanta's Black mayor, Maynard Jackson, addressed the crowd, to some heckling and no applause. "The mood wasn't exactly friendly," Boyd said, but the anger was directed more at the general situation than anything in particular.

"When the TV cameraman came around, someone said, 'Now everybody look poor,'" Billings added. People cracked jokes to keep their spirits up.

After waiting four and a half hours and filling out a couple of forms, the two were told that they'd be called. Neither has heard anything yet.

Ford plan at a glance

These were the main points of Ford's Jan. 15 State of the Union message:

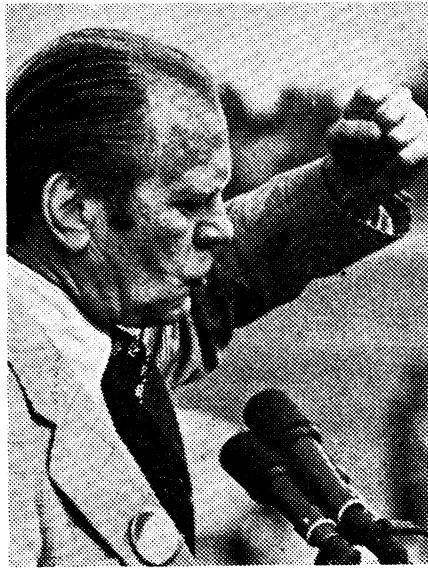
Unemployment: No proposals.

Inflation: A moratorium on all new government programs in health, education, and welfare; a 5 percent limit on the wage increases of all government workers; no cuts in war spending.

Energy: A \$3 tax on imported oil starting April 1. Proposal to Congress to decontrol domestic oil prices and impose a comparable tax on domestic oil. Net result would be a 15 to 20 cent per gallon rise in price of gasoline and 15 to 20 percent rises in heating costs.

Environment: Five-year moratorium on auto air-pollution measures; moratorium on regulations concerning nuclear and coal energy production; demand that Congress "rewrite" strip-mining bill.

Taxes: A tax "rebate" of 12 percent of 1974 income taxes up to a limit of \$1,000; reductions on 1975 taxes. Reductions in corporate taxes and extension of investment tax credits.



FORD: 'Sacrifice!'

...Ford

Continued from preceding page

at higher world prices.

That is why Ford called for an import tax on foreign oil and at the same time called for decontrolling domestic oil prices and possibly even taxing domestic oil. This will allow oil companies to raise the price of domestic oil to correspond to the automatically higher prices of OPEC oil.

"Domestic oil, if decontrolled," Leonard Silk pointed out in the *New York Times* article already cited, "appears likely to rise to the same level [as OPEC oil]. This could increase the present 'blend' price of a barrel of oil from about \$8 to \$14—a jump that, even with 'windfall' taxes on oil producers, would be felt by consumers directly in their gasoline prices and prices of home-heating oil and indirectly through the prices of virtually everything else. . . .

"The cost of living index might go up a few percentage points as a result."

Inflation

The ruling class cannot allow the rate of inflation to get completely out of hand. This would place it at a disadvantage vis-à-vis its international competitors and might provoke a reaction of the American public that could ultimately threaten capitalist rule itself.

Faced with a certainty of higher fuel prices and bigger deficits, therefore, Ford proposed some measures aimed at stemming inflation. But these were every bit as reactionary as the rest of his message.

Ford demanded that government workers' wage increases be limited to 5 percent in 1975—a level guaranteed to be well below the inflation rate.

Further, Ford demanded a moratorium on all new government programs in the field of health, education, and welfare. Only the Pentagon's cherished war budget is exempt from the White House cutbacks.

The poor and the unemployed who most need aid get least.

But even with these budget restrictions, deficits are certain. "A \$20 billion tax cut could bring next year's deficit to some \$50 billion, and if the stimulus didn't work, the deficit could balloon above the previous record of \$53.8 billion at the height of World War II," *Newsweek* reported Jan. 20.

It is in expectation of these massive budget deficits that monopolists can so confidently raise prices even as production and sales are falling.

Times author Silk commented, "In effect, under Mr. Ford's [energy] plan, income would be transferred through excise taxes on oil from consumers to businesses."

The combination of recession and inflation at the same time means that the same process takes place throughout the economy. Those who are unemployed and those whose wages do not keep up with inflation—most people, in other words—are forced to pay more and more for the same physical quantity of goods, or even for a declining physical quantity of goods. The wealth the masses of people lose in this way enters the pockets of the monopolists through higher prices.

Ford's economic policies are aimed at defending and extending this robbery of workers by the ruling class—even as the capitalist world teeters on the brink of world crisis. And it is this blindness to all but the most narrow interests of monopoly that makes the capitalist government incapable of offering a viable solution to the pressing economic hardships.

Must steelworkers choose between layoffs and pollution?

By JOHN ISENHOWER

CHICAGO—The U. S. Steel corporation had a dismal New Year's greeting for 500 steelworkers in Gary, Ind.

On Jan. 1 the company threw them out of their jobs and closed down the Gary Works Number 4 open-hearth shop rather than pay a court-ordered fine for its pollution. It threatens further layoffs as the lost production affects other plants.

A battle has been raging for more than a year between environmental groups and the federal, state, and city environmental commissions on the one hand, and this giant steel trust on the other.

Gary Works is an antiquated monstrosity that has been polluting the Calumet area for 65 years. It spews out 70,000 tons of smoke, dust, and ash every year, producing vast gray and orange clouds over Gary. The waters of a nearby stream and lake are covered with oily slime.

U. S. Steel agreed 10 years ago to replace the open-hearth furnaces with the cleaner, more efficient Basic Oxygen Process (BOP) plants. The company had already received two extensions of deadlines for replacing Number 4, the last open-hearth furnaces to go.

The latest court order offered the company another 90-day extension, but only if it paid a fine of \$2,300 a day. This was supposed to give the company some incentive to stop stalling on the new equipment.

But U. S. Steel has refused to budge from its "principle" that it has the right to pollute without paying "daily tribute."

Company officials have admitted that one of the more advanced plants may be in operation within a month. This new facility, however, will require fewer workers.

The fine levied is of course a mere pittance to U. S. Steel. The company's intransigence is meant to strike a blow against enforcement of pollution controls, and at the same time to lay off several hundred workers with the aim of producing steel with lower labor costs in the future.

The attitude projected by the steel trust is that it's an unavoidable choice, a "trade off"—either layoffs or pollution.

The Gary city council agreed, asking the federal judge who imposed the daily fine to suspend it so the company wouldn't close the plant. Accord-

ing to the *Gary Post-Tribune*, the council adopted a resolution that environmental groups should now "set aside their convictions and adopt an economy-minded attitude. Save the jobs now and clean up the air later, was what the council advocated."

The environmental groups are putting the blame where it belongs, though. Barry Greever, research director for the Citizens for a Better Environment, blasted U. S. Steel for "thinking only in terms of its investments." He charged that "the name of U. S. Steel is now synonymous with the corporate abuse of power" and that the company seeks to "have labor and environmental groups fighting among themselves."

The reaction of most officials of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) to such situations has ranged from fatalistic acceptance of the layoffs to echoing company propaganda against pollution controls.

"We have lived with the imminent closing of the open hearth for a year now," said Harry Piasecki, president of USWA Local 1014, whose 15,000 members work in Gary. "It's not something we haven't known about; we're as prepared as we are going to be."

Ed Sadlowski, newly elected director of USWA District 31, which includes Gary, is taking a different attitude. He insists that "you can make steel and have clean air at the same time."

Sadlowski said District 31 might try to intervene in the federal court case, "Just to find out why, if we can put a man on the moon, U. S. Steel can't put precipitators on smoke stacks."

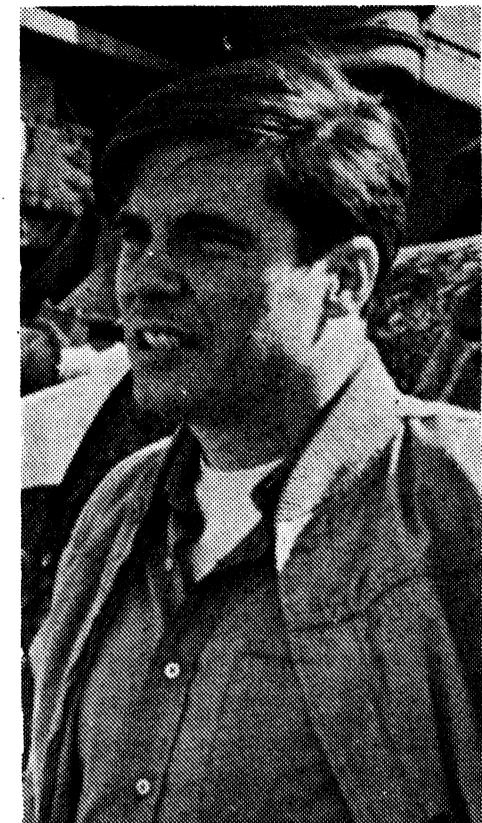
There is no lack of money. In the first nine months of 1974 alone, U. S. Steel netted profits of \$463.4-million, and the industry looks forward to another record year in 1975.

Steelworkers certainly are not responsible for the problem. Their productivity has increased tremendously over the years, with more steel being produced by fewer workers.

The fact is that the steel trust has reaped billions in profits by automating workers out of jobs and wantonly poisoning the air and water.

The cost of cleaning up the environment, constructing safe and clean steel-making facilities, and providing job security for all steelworkers should be paid by these profiteers, not by the workers.

The cruel dilemma of "jobs versus



ED SADLOWSKI: 'You can make steel and have clean air at the same time.'

clean air" is a dilemma only if profits are considered sacred—more important than human lives.

The steelworkers union is one of the most powerful in the country. If its ranks were mobilized it could defeat the steel trust's schemes. It could forge an alliance with environmentalists and others to fight for jobs for all and clean air.

To start with, the union can and should demand that every worker who was laid off receive full wages until new jobs are provided. It could demand to carry out its own inspection of the company's books and records, to discover the industry's real profits and expose its antisocial policies.

Beyond that, it is becoming more dangerous every day to leave the decisions about this vital industry—decisions affecting the jobs of thousands of steelworkers and the quality of life for all of us—in the hands of those whose only concern is profit.

If the steel companies refuse to spend the money to clean up their operations, if they threaten to close down plants instead, they should be taken over by the government and run under the control of the workers themselves.



U. S. Steel's Gary Works before shutdown. Industry has reaped billions in profits while poisoning our air and water.

Strikers rally labor support

Court bars firing of Michigan teachers

By PAULA REIMERS

DEARBORN HEIGHTS, Mich.—The 184 striking teachers of the Crestwood Education Association won an important victory when a three-judge panel of the Wayne County circuit court ruled Jan. 9 that the Crestwood board of education acted illegally in firing them.

The decision is a serious blow to the Michigan law forbidding teachers' strikes.

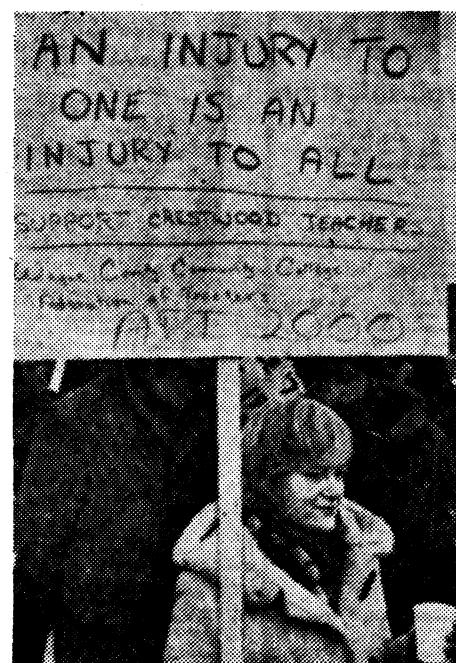
The panel also ordered both the union and the board to submit to binding arbitration and ordered the teachers back to work.

The teachers reluctantly agreed to the binding arbitration, believing that their right to have a union and to strike have become the key issues, rather than the particular contract provisions they originally struck for: higher wages and a cost-of-living clause.

The Crestwood board appealed the decision and won a stay of the court order to reinstate the fired teachers for one week pending the appeal. The union, in turn, has appealed the stay to the Michigan Supreme Court.

The Jan. 9 court ruling came in the face of mounting labor outrage over the blatant union-busting tactics of the school board. What started out as a strike by 184 teachers in a Detroit suburb has become a challenge to the entire labor movement in Michigan.

On Jan. 14, 200 pickets from a number of unions in the Greater Detroit Building Trades Council joined the teachers' picket line. They dis-



Paula Reimers, vice-president of Wayne County Community College Federation of Teachers, pickets in support of Crestwood strikers.

tributed a statement by Jack Wood, secretary-manager of the council, saying, "The key issues are the right to organize and hold a job without fear of being fired for union activity and replaced with scabs. If it can happen to union teachers without protest and action by the labor movement then it can happen to any union."

Statements of support have come from area leaders of the AFL-CIO and the United Auto Workers (UAW),

and strike support funds are being raised by such unions as the Detroit Federation of Teachers.

Hundreds of pickets from dozens of different unions, especially other teacher locals from across the state, have marched in the picket lines despite subzero weather and cop attacks and arrests.

The most dramatic development in the five-week-old strike came when 11 locals of the Michigan Education Association (MEA) voted to walk off the job in sympathy with the Crestwood teachers. The walkout, scheduled for Jan. 8, was postponed to await the outcome of the court ruling.

Following the ruling, 20 MEA locals met on Jan. 12, and 15 of them again decided to strike if the appeals process goes against the Crestwood teachers.

Other unions have promised similar action. Wayne County Community College Federation of Teachers, AFT Local 2000, voted to walk out whenever the MEA locals do. Local 2000 has also called on the Michigan Federation of Teachers to organize a statewide walkout.

Local 2000 also submitted a resolution to the Detroit AFL-CIO Council calling on it to implement its promise to call a "labor holiday" if the teachers need it. Council President Tom Turner made this pledge at a Jan. 8 news conference.

Mary Ellen Riordan, head of the 10,000-member Detroit Federation of Teachers, has also promised to take

her local out if the situation worsens.

Labor support has been crucial in breaking the isolation of the union and turning around the vicious campaign of vilification of the teachers carried out by the capitalist news media.

The picketing and the court decision have also undercut the scabbing operation attempted by the board. The 150 scab teachers hired by the board have steadily dwindled. On Jan. 14 only 48 chose to cross the picket lines and enter the schools. Student attendance is down to less than 50 percent.

The *Detroit Free Press*, liberal mouthpiece for management locally, is worried about the potential explosiveness of the situation. In a Jan. 7 editorial it cautioned the school board: "This is Detroit, home of the union movement. The AFL-CIO and the UAW, despite what some critics may think of the labor movement, are powerful political forces in this community. . . .

"It is impossible to say what exactly would happen if Crestwood becomes the focal point for an all-out labor-management struggle involving the schools."

The next day it repeated that, despite the school board's wishes, "It is simply impractical in Detroit to break a union." It is up to the union movement to continue and step up its solidarity with the Crestwood teachers to make it absolutely clear just how "impractical" the school board's attack is.

Bay Area unionists back striking machinists

By HARRY RING

BELMONT, Calif.—Some 200 Bay Area unionists joined the picket line at the struck Dalmo Victor plant here Jan. 7. About 180 members of Lodge 1327 of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) have been on strike since last June. Their picket line was the target of a vicious police attack this past Sept. 26.

The strike was deliberately forced by the company, a Textron subsidiary, which is doing nicely with Defense Department contracts. The company has refused to sign a contract based on terms negotiated by the IAM with some 500 metal-trades plants in the San Francisco area.

The company is demanding that any agreement include seniority for the scabs it has hired since the strike began.

The Jan. 7 solidarity action was organized by the United Labor Action

Committee, a trade-union formation working to promote labor solidarity. A key figure in the committee is Walter Johnson, a leader of San Francisco Retail Clerks Local 1100. Local 1100 won a long, bitterly fought strike at the San Francisco Sears stores last year.

The Dalmo Victor strikers have stood solid in a difficult situation. According to Chuck Barnes, the local business agent, the company is continuing to receive government contracts even though the scabs are unable to maintain anything resembling normal production or meet federal quality control standards.

Barnes said the company has received an additional \$15-million in war contracts since the strike began.

Barnes and five of the strikers are facing prison terms as a result of the Sept. 26 police attack on the picket line. Even though there were only 40

pickets present at the time, and almost that many cops—some with dogs—the police asserted the strikers had "attacked" them.

The six were originally booked on felony charges, but union attorneys have since been able to get the charges reduced to misdemeanors. Trials are pending.

The United Labor Action support demonstration for the strikers ended with a rally that was addressed by representatives of various participating unions.

Walter Johnson, who chaired the rally, declared that the need for labor solidarity was becoming increasingly urgent. He expressed the view that any strike that lasts more than a month should become the responsibility of the entire labor movement.

Johnson announced that a date is being set for a united labor demon-

stration in support of the Dalmo Victor workers to be held at the Federal Building in San Francisco.



Militant/Harry Ring

About 200 unionists turned out Jan. 7 to support Dalmo Victor strike.

Calif. auto workers march against layoffs

By JACK RASMUS

FREMONT, Calif.—In protest against mounting layoffs in the auto industry, 200 auto workers and supporters held a hastily arranged march and rally here Jan. 4.

The demonstration was called by United Auto Workers (UAW) Locals 1364, 560, and 76.

Marchers gathered at a suburban Fremont shopping center and marched nearly two miles to a nearby city park, chanting "We want our jobs" and "Let us stay—make GM pay."

At the rally that followed, Vern Dias, president of Local 1364, blamed the Ford administration for con-

sciously engineering unemployment as part of its so-called anti-inflation strategy. He added that "the fat cats are making more money than ever before," while "all we get are a few handouts from the federal government."

Dias concluded by remarking that the higher costs being claimed by the auto companies should be absorbed by them out of past superprofits, and that the UAW's fast-depleting SUB (supplemental unemployment benefits) fund should be replenished by the companies until those laid off are rehired.

Early Mays, chairperson of the Local 1364 shop committee, also addressed the rally. He criticized the UAW leadership for proposing to sub-

sidize the SUB fund from other union funds instead of from the employers' profits, for proposing to assist corporate executives in a campaign to sell more cars by spending union money on magazine ads, and for not helping to mobilize the union membership on a local level.

Other UAW speakers declared that the real cause of the layoffs is the companies themselves, not the Arabs, immigrant workers, or minorities, as the corporations want us to believe.

The spirit of the rally was perhaps best expressed by a young woman, recently laid off, who declared, "We're going to walk off our jobs not with our tails between our legs but with our heads up and willing to fight!"

Young Socialist Alliance plans 'biggest campaign ever' for Camejo-Reid ticket

By ANDY ROSE

ST. LOUIS—Campaigning for the Socialist Workers Party 1976 presidential ticket will be one of the central activities of the Young Socialist Alliance for the next 22 months, delegates to the recent YSA national convention decided.

The high point of the convention, held here Dec. 28-Jan. 1, was an enthusiastic rally of 1,000 people to launch the SWP campaign of Peter Camejo for president and Willie Mae Reid for vice-president.

"Our candidates are fighters who have devoted their lives to the struggle against oppression and exploitation," YSA National Secretary Rich Finkel told the convention in a report on perspectives for the 1976 campaign. "We have the kind of slate that can inspire young people from one end of the country to the other."

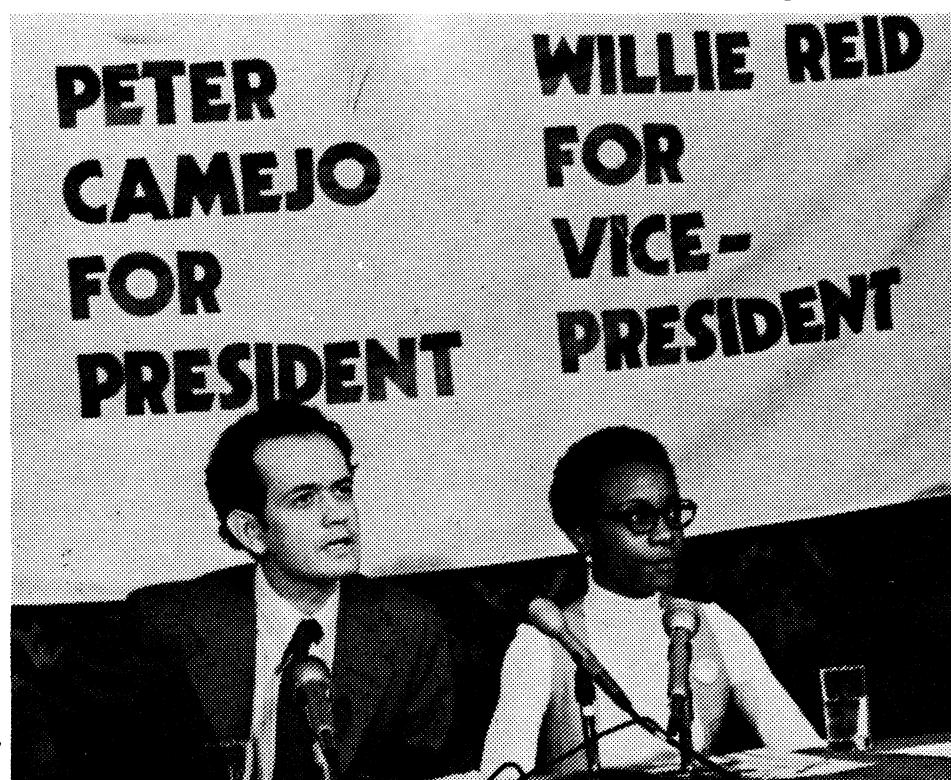
The Democrats and Republicans will have a lot of trouble in 1976 coming up with candidates and demagogic that can arouse enthusiasm among working people, Finkel said.

Ford and the Republicans have been unable to escape the "nightmare of Watergate" that supposedly ended with Nixon's ouster. Ford's own popularity began to plummet from the moment he pardoned Nixon. And exposures of the deceit and corruption of capitalist politics have continued to plague the administration, from Rockefeller's "dirty tricks" to Kissinger's complicity with CIA subversion around the world.

Failure to provide any solutions to inflation and unemployment is now the major factor eroding confidence in the government.

While the Democrats have temporarily gained as a result of Watergate, Finkel said, disillusionment and cynicism are growing with respect to both capitalist parties.

In fact, by virtue of their landslide victory in the 1974 elections, the Democrats are now put on the spot to



Militant/Pat Hayes

Peter Camejo and Willie Mae Reid. "We have the kind of slate that can inspire young people," said YSA National Secretary Rich Finkel.

take action on the problems facing the American people. "And the Democrats have no more answers to the economic crisis than Ford does, except to throw in the threat of new wage controls," he added.

In today's atmosphere of sharpening class struggle and distrust of capitalist politics, Finkel said, the SWP's 1976 campaign stands to be the biggest and most successful ever run by the party.

He went on to outline some major themes of the SWP campaign. "First is the concept that working people shouldn't have to pay for the crisis of the capitalist system. The concept of the new Bill of Rights for working people will be one of our greatest weapons, enabling us to explain the socialist solutions to inflation, unem-

ployment, and other problems in the most popular and easily understood way."

Camejo and Reid are calling for adoption of a Bill of Rights for working people that includes: the right to a job; the right to an adequate income; the right to free education, free medical care, and secure retirement; the right of oppressed national minorities to control their own affairs; the right to know the truth about economic and political policies that affect our lives; and the right of workers to decide economic and political policy.

"We want to go on a drive to distribute this Bill of Rights to millions of people," Finkel said.

"The second theme will be defense of the Black struggle, focused right now on defense of the Black com-

munity in Boston. Both candidates will work to mobilize opposition to the racist attacks on busing. Both Camejo and Reid helped organize the Dec. 14 freedom march in Boston, and they will be campaigning to build the National Student Conference Against Racism in mid-February."

A third theme will be the defense of democratic rights, "not only for our rights as socialists but for the rights of the working class as a whole, for the rights of the unions, the Black community, prisoners, GIs, gay people, and youth."

"We're not only going to be campaigning against the immediate effects of the capitalist crisis," Finkel said, "but we're going to be talking about the necessity for an entirely new society, a socialist society."

Finkel also discussed the tasks facing the YSA in the campaign. "The YSA national office will be functioning as the youth coordinating center for the SWP campaign," he said. "The *Young Socialist* newspaper will be the voice of all young people who support Camejo and Reid."

The first big campaign activity coming up, Finkel said, will be nationwide speaking tours this spring by Peter Camejo, Linda Jenness, and Ed Heisler. Jenness was the SWP candidate for president in 1972, and Heisler was the party's nominee for U.S. Senate from Illinois in 1974.

This spring Willie Mae Reid will be campaigning primarily in Chicago, where she is challenging Richard "Boss" Daley in the mayoral race.

"When our candidates or other leading speakers come to a campus," Finkel said, "it is a big political event, and we want the entire campus to know about it. We want to publicize it from one end of the campus to the other with posters, leaflets, banners, and through the media. These tours can prompt a tremendous outpouring of people who are sick and tired of the Democrats and Republicans and

Continued on page 22

San Antonio YSA active in Chicano struggles

ST. LOUIS—The south Texas city of San Antonio, with a population of more than 800,000, has long been a major center for the Chicano movement. Today it is feeling the impact of an active and growing chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance.

During the recent YSA national convention here, two members of the San Antonio YSA told *The Militant* about some of the work they have been doing.

Andy González, 20, first came in contact with the YSA back in 1972 when he was a campus coordinator for the McGovern campaign. He heard a speech by Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Linda Jenness and started reading *The Militant*.

"I was already getting very discouraged with McGovern, with all the positions he was backtracking on," González said. "Four or five months later I joined the YSA."

González is well known in the Chicano movement at San Antonio College (SAC). He was a founder of the campus UMAS (United Mexican-American Students) and last year ran for student government president with the endorsement of UMAS, losing by only one vote.

Sylvia Zapata, 18, is also a student at SAC. When a team of YSA members traveling throughout Texas visit-

ed San Antonio last fall, she said, "They had a literature table set up and Pedro Vásquez and some other Chicanos were talking. They were really going at it about the deportations, because a lot of us didn't understand what was behind them. He sold me a *Militant*, and so I started reading *The Militant*."

When the team returned to SAC again later in the fall, Zapata had further discussions with YSA members and decided to join.

The deportation drive against undocumented *mexicano* workers is a big issue in San Antonio. "Over and over again the newspapers run big headlines saying all these undocumented workers—they call them 'illegal aliens' and 'wetbacks'—are coming across the border and taking jobs away from American workers," González said.

After one racist article appeared, threatening a big increase in deportations, the YSA organized a news conference on the SAC campus at which SWP gubernatorial candidate Sherry Smith spoke out against the racist hysteria.

"About 100 students attended the news conference, and it had wide coverage on TV and radio and in the newspapers," González said.

"Then after the election we continued

to campaign by organizing an anti-deportation rally, which was sponsored by CASA [an antideportation organization], the SAC student government, and the YSA. Mario Cantú, a leader of CASA, and Pedro Vásquez, the SWP candidate for attorney general, spoke at this rally. We had a turnout of about 150 students."

YSAers were also active in the campaign of Raza Unida Party candidate Daniel Meza. His campaign for state representative scored an important breakthrough in winning the support of several union locals, and ended up with about 25 percent of the vote.

So far relatively few people in San Antonio are aware of the struggle over busing in Boston, the YSAers said. Nevertheless, they helped organize a demonstration in solidarity with the Dec. 14 freedom march. Held downtown in front of the federal building, it drew 60 people.

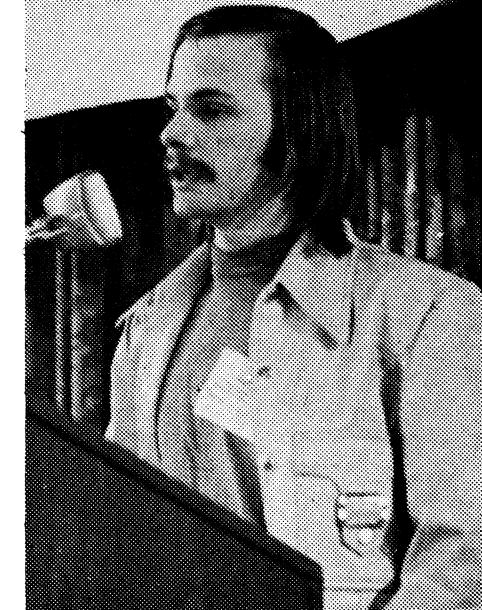
Ever since the YSA was first formed at SAC, it has had to wage a running battle against the administration to be able to set up literature tables, hold meetings, sponsor forums, and so on.

By this time, because of the broad support won for its rights, the YSA can function freely, although it is still denied formal recognition. But the YSA members said when they return to campus they plan to continue the

fight for their full rights.

González and Zapata report that there is growing interest in the YSA in San Antonio. Activists from the antideportation movement and the African Liberation Support Committee have asked to have discussions with the YSA, they said, and there are tentative plans to set up a series of classes on Marxism.

—A.R.



Militant/Mary Jo Hendrickson
Andy González, YSA leader in San Antonio, Tex.

Victim of racist frame-up

J.B. Johnson granted new trial, denied bail

By NORTON SANDLER

ST. LOUIS—J.B. Johnson is my son," Mary Watkins told the thousand people assembled here for the Young Socialist Alliance national convention.

"His name is just the initials: J.B. But when he was taken to the Missouri State Penitentiary he was given a number for a name. The number is 23931.

"Plus the name they gave him for the J is James and for the B is Ben, which is not what I named him.

"But they did worse than that. They gave him 99 years and one day in prison for a crime that he did not commit."

Mary Watkins was greeted with a standing ovation when she was introduced to make a special presentation to the convention on the latest developments in the fight to free her son.

Johnson, now 24, was arrested on Jan. 23, 1970. He was the scapegoat victim of a frantic police search following a jewelry store robbery that led to the death of a white cop.

As Mary Watkins said, "He was young and Black and in the wrong area at the wrong time. They arrested J.B. at gunpoint and they told him if he moved they would blow his brains out." And he has spent almost all of the last five years behind bars despite compelling evidence of his innocence.

After persistent efforts by Mary Watkins and the Committee to Defend J.B. Johnson, his appeal for a new trial was heard by Division I of the Mis-



Militant/Mary Jo Hendrickson
Mary Watkins, mother of J.B. Johnson, tells YSA convention of developments in his case.

souri Supreme Court last Sept. 19. William Kunstler argued the case for the defense.

On Dec. 16 the court ordered a new trial. "We won the case in the Supreme Court and that was snatched away from us by the great Attorney General John Danforth," said Watkins.

Danforth insisted that the ruling by the three-judge division be reviewed by the entire court. The crowded state of the court docket means that the decision cannot be reviewed before next May, so that Johnson may spend yet

another year in the penitentiary. A motion for Johnson to be released on bail was turned down by the court.

Among those who have spoken out in defense of Johnson's right to bail are U.S. Representative William Clay, former U.S. attorney general Ramsey Clark, Georgia State Representative Julian Bond, all seven Black state representatives from St. Louis, two state representatives from Kansas City, and St. Louis Alderman C. B. Broussard.

Danforth is determined to keep the case bottled up in lengthy appeals. State officials fear that their five-year frame-up of Johnson will fall apart during another jury trial when thousands of Johnson supporters would be following the developments.

Johnson was convicted by an all-white suburban jury. He was never identified as having been in the jewelry store where the police officer was shot. In fact, the jeweler picked another man from a police line-up. The man arrested outside the jewelry store and convicted in the cop's death has sworn that Johnson was not his accomplice.

The "evidence" used to convict Johnson consisted of two rings that cops claimed to have found in his shoes after he was arrested.

However, a police evidence bag photographed at the time of the cop's death contained seven rings. When this same bag was introduced in court, two of the rings were missing. During the

Supreme Court argument, state officials were forced to admit that the disappearing rings were "a contradiction that cannot be explained by the record."

Mary Watkins told the YSA convention that Johnson had refused offers to drop the murder charge against him if he pleaded guilty to a lesser offense.

"He stuck to his innocence, he went to court. If he had been guilty he would have taken that 10 years—the last thing they offered him was 10 years. He would have taken it, and J.B. would be here tonight with us," she said.

Referring to President Ford's pardoning of Watergate criminal Nixon, she said, "They say Nixon's family has suffered enough. So have I. I have suffered enough too. J.B. needs a pardon too."

Watkins appealed for people to help get out the word about the case of J.B. Johnson, and also asked that people write to him in prison. Letters can be sent to J.B. Johnson 23931, Box 900, Jefferson City, Mo. 65101.

"I know who my friends are," Mary Watkins said. "And they are here. Without the support of people like you, J.B. and I could not survive. I wish to my heart that he was here tonight with us. I hope by the next convention, when J.B. gets out, everybody here will see him, because he will be on the scene. That's for sure."

How news media reported YSA convention

By DUNCAN WILLIAMS

ST. LOUIS—The fourteenth national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance received the most extensive news media coverage in the history of the YSA.

Here in St. Louis, the *Post-Dispatch* and *Globe-Democrat* each carried considerable advance coverage and ran major articles almost every day of the convention. There was more than 20 minutes of prime-time TV news coverage, and almost hourly reports on several local radio stations.

The *Associated Press* and *United Press International* wire services sent out a number of stories, which were printed by newspapers all across the country. The ABC, CBS, NBC, and National Black Networks all sent out material to their affiliated radio stations.

One focus of attention by the media was naturally the launching of the 1976 Socialist Workers Party presidential campaign. It was carried on the front pages of the *Minneapolis Star* and the *Atlanta Journal*, and presidential nominee Peter Camejo appeared on national network television—NBC's "Today" show—on Dec. 30.

The *National Observer* ran a major feature on Camejo's campaign, and large photographs of the candidates with the announcement of the campaign were carried by the *Chicago Sun-Times* and the *San Francisco Sunday Examiner & Chronicle*.

Vice-presidential candidate Willie Mae Reid has been highlighted in the Black press, including a full-page "Profile" in the *Chicago Defender* and major front-page articles in the *Milwaukee Courier* and the *St. Louis Argus*.

The *Memphis Press-Scimitar* ran a story under the headline "Ex-Memphian Will Be on National Ticket," recalling that Reid "was active in the Memphis bus movement protesting segregated seating for blacks in 1958."

With few exceptions, the coverage was noteworthy for its accuracy and seriousness. Instead of red-baiting or trying to pass off the YSA as a "lunatic fringe" group, most articles gave a reasonably straightforward presentation of the YSA's positions.

The YSA's determination to mobilize support for desegregation in Boston was widely reported. One *UPI* dispatch began: "Members of the Young Socialist Alliance yesterday approved a political agenda pinpointing Boston as the battleground for civil rights." It went on to quote from the YSA's political resolution on the issues at stake in Boston and to report that the YSA is helping organize participation in the National Student Conference Against Racism.

Among the papers that picked up this one item were the *Boston Globe*, *Chicago Defender*, and the *New York Times*, which ran it along with its news article that day on developments in Boston.

Another area of major coverage was the YSA's effort to get a court order against FBI spying on the convention. The St. Louis papers and the *New York Times* in particular reported each major development in the case in the week before the convention.

The legal battle provoked a running editorial debate between the two St. Louis dailies, with the *Globe-Democrat* backing FBI spying and the *Post-Dispatch* speaking out for the YSA's rights.

Other papers not only reported but also took sides. The *Chicago Sun-Times* hailed the district court judge's order barring all FBI surveillance as "a courageous and intelligent position in favor of political freedom," as did *New York Post* columnist James Wechsler under the heading "Letting Freedom Ring."

When an appeals court overturned the judge's order, the *New York Daily*

News ran an editorial headlined "A Welcome Reversal," complaining that nowadays "every attempt to keep tabs on radical activities is decried as a menace to the Constitution. . . ."

Even the Communist Party's *Daily World*, which had consistently refused to cover the YSA's and SWP's suit against the government, finally felt compelled to run an editorial condemning the appeals court action.

The St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* got in the last word, though. On Jan. 2 it wrote: "If the FBI was looking on, its agents might properly have learned something fundamental about both democracy and revolution."

Revolution, the editorial said, "hardly results from small conspira-

cies; always it has required mass resistance against political and social oppression that invite revolutionary leadership."

The fact that much of the news coverage was informed and honest is a sign of the changing times. Anticomunist prejudices are being broken down, and editors no longer automatically kill stories sympathetic to socialists.

Also, much of the working press today is made up of young reporters who have been affected by the radicalization around them. Indeed, one reporter at the convention bought a copy of the *History of American Trotskyism*, and another took out a subscription to *The Militant*.

1000 Hear Young Socialists' Pitch



St. Louis papers carried daily coverage of YSA convention

First of a series

By WENDY LYONS

The Dec. 13 National Teach-In Against Racism and the Dec. 14 march in support of desegregated schools in Boston set the stage for building a new movement for Black civil rights.

These actions were powerful displays of opposition to the racist offensive that is aimed at beating back the gains won by Blacks during the earlier civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s.

The student committee that initiated the teach-in and helped organize the march has now called for a national conference Feb. 14-16, in Boston, to discuss further actions.

This conference will be open to all who agree that

members spoke at their weekly demonstrations.

The lack of a powerful response to the racist drive encouraged the reactionary forces. This led finally to the gathering of a lynch mob outside South Boston High School on Dec. 11. More than 100 Black students narrowly escaped from the school with their lives, under police protection.

But the Dec. 14 march signaled the opening of a countermobilization. The demonstration showed that large numbers of people could be moved to stand up and say, "Enough—these students have the right to an equal education without fearing for their lives!"

The teach-in and other building activities for the demonstration enabled organizers of the action to explain far and wide the truth about what is going on in Boston—that the issue is racism.

The protests also helped to demoralize the racists

fore illegal. This was an inspiring victory for the fight against Jim Crow, but this decision would have remained a scrap of paper had it been left to the capitalist politicians.

The successive Republican and Democratic administrations of Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson spouted rhetoric about equality for all, but time and again refused to implement the laws guaranteeing equality, and dragged their feet in halting terrorist attacks on Black freedom fighters. It took the mass independent action of the civil rights movement to win the battle against Jim Crow.

These actions began as local protests, such as the 1955 Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott that succeeded in desegregating buses in that city. In the early 1960s the movement became national in scope. Sit-ins to desegregate lunch counters, and Freedom Rides to desegregate interstate buses took place. In 1963 solidarity actions were organized around the country in response to a brutal police attack on a civil rights demonstration in Birmingham, Ala. This led to a massive march on Washington, D. C., of 250,000 people.

Actions such as these finally forced the government to pass the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1965 Voting Rights Act.

Set example

The protests against racial injustice that awakened the American people and led to the death of Jim Crow set an example that has affected the struggles for social change in this country ever since.

Many of the activists who organized the first demonstrations against the war had their training in the civil rights movement. In this struggle, too, the futility of relying on the capitalist politicians was shown time and again.

Both Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon won elections by proclaiming themselves "peace candidates" while they secretly plotted new campaigns of terror against the Vietnamese people.

Congressional "doves" made fiery antiwar speeches—and then turned around and consistently voted for war appropriations. Had the antiwar movement relied on capitalist politicians, rather than on mass demonstrations in the streets, the B-52s would still be pounding the Vietnamese.

It was the strategy of mass independent actions that first won the majority of American people to oppose the war and finally forced the U. S. government to withdraw the troops from Vietnam.

The Democratic and Republican politicians cannot be relied upon in the struggle against war—or in the struggle for decent education, housing, and jobs for Blacks. This is because they are committed to upholding capitalism—a system that thrives on war, racial oppression, and exploitation. They can be forced to make concessions only when they face a compelling political movement, a movement that relies on the power of mass action.

The Feb. 14-16 National Student Conference Against Racism will be considering plans for further actions like the Dec. 13 teach-in and Dec. 14 freedom march.

Trade unionists, clergy, and community and political organizations should all be drawn into planning and participating in such protests. Democratic and Republican politicians should also be asked to support actions against the segregationists. They should just understand that the anti-racist movement will not be for sale. It will not be a vote-catching machine for anybody.

Many questions and some differences of opinion have arisen among supporters of civil rights about the most effective tactics to fight the racist offensive. Among the questions being discussed are: How does desegregation relate to the fight for community control of the schools? Should we call on the federal government to send troops to enforce desegregation? How does the busing fight relate to the struggle against the capitalist system?

In future articles we will take up these and other questions.

The Racist Offensive Against Busing

THE LESSONS OF BOSTON
HOW TO FIGHT BACK

BY WILLIE MAE REID,
PETER CAMEJO,
AND OTHERS
\$.50

Order from: Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.



Part of crowd of 250,000 at 1963 civil rights demonstration in Washington, D.C. Mass actions like this led to defeat of Jim Crow.

the racists must be defeated. It will provide an opportunity for supporters of civil rights from all over the country to participate in discussing and deciding upon what to do next.

Since the opening of school last fall, Blacks and supporters of Black liberation across the nation watched in frustration as racist acts of terror escalated against Black students in Boston. As these students faced daily indignities, brutality, and threats on their lives, there seemed to be no powerful force that would defend them—that would stand up and say, "We are behind you."

The reactionaries in Boston tried to hide their racist opposition to desegregation by claiming that the issue is just "neighborhood schools." The capitalist news media cooperated by portraying the racist movement sympathetically.

Many were confused and others were intimidated from standing up to tell the truth about what was going on in Boston.

The Black community there is small, and the attitude of most of the community leaders was to remain quiet so as not to "provoke" the reactionaries. Those few protest actions that were organized were smaller than the weekly rallies of the racists.

Role of capitalist politicians

The capitalist politicians were no help. President Ford rejected pleas from the Black community to send troops to Boston in order to enforce the federal court order for desegregation. He pointedly expressed his own opposition to court-ordered busing.

Senator Edward Kennedy, who masquerades as a defender of Black rights, got booted by the reactionaries early in the school year, when he visited Boston, and he hasn't said a word about the situation there since.

Many of the local elected officials were leading the antibusing campaign. The all-Democratic Boston city council turned over its chambers for the weekly meetings of the racists, and a number of its

and cause divisions among them. Their counter-demonstration, the day after the Dec. 14 march of 12,000, was less than half the size of the anti-racist march.

While they were dealt a blow by the Dec. 14 demonstration, the racists are far from being defeated. Black students still face a powerful threat to their right to go to desegregated schools in Boston.

It is clear that the elected Democratic and Republican officials cannot be relied upon to change the situation.

Boston's Democratic Mayor White recently authorized the use of city funds to appeal the court decision upholding school desegregation.

Judge Arthur Garrity, who initially ordered busing to achieve desegregation, has backed down from contempt charges against the racist school committee, despite the fact that the committee has clearly violated a court order to submit a final plan to desegregate the schools.

It will take more actions like the one on Dec. 14 to win the battle in Boston—actions that can mobilize increasing numbers of people in support of Boston's Black community.

The history of the early civil rights movement testifies to the effectiveness of such a mass-action strategy. The fighters for civil rights won gains through rallies, marches, picket lines, sit-ins, boycotts, and other forms of mass activity—not by relying on the capitalist politicians. As a result of these protests the system of legal segregation (Jim Crow) was put to death.

The men and women who started the movement to smash Jim Crow faced tremendous odds. They were standing up to a deeply ingrained system of laws that defined Blacks as less than human beings. This system was enforced by terror. Many who dared to stand up for their rights were lynched in the course of the struggle.

In 1954 the U. S. Supreme Court ruled that segregated schools are inherently inferior, and there-

Considers 'voluntary' busing plan

Boston judge tries to let school board off hook

By JON HILLSON

BOSTON—Racist foes of school desegregation received a shot in the arm here Jan. 8 when Federal District Court Judge Arthur Garrity said he may accept a new "integration" proposal from the Boston school committee that does not require busing.

The school committee's new plan was submitted in an effort to purge three of its members of civil contempt charges leveled against them by Garrity on Dec. 26. This verdict came 10 days after the committee refused a court order to submit a phase two



Cops wrestle Black students out of Hyde Park High after fight Jan. 9.

plan that would have required busing to desegregate the remainder of Boston's public schools by September.

After finding the committee members who voted against the plan to be in contempt, Garrity gave them until Jan. 8 to submit another plan or face legal penalties.

The new committee plan calls for the "voluntary" desegregation of Boston schools without mandatory busing. This plan is simply a legal maneuver to continue the committee's 10-year efforts to block the desegregation of city schools.

School committee member Paul Tierney, in voting for the new plan, explained that it was "pie in the sky because voluntary busing cannot meet the federal guidelines for desegregation."

The struggle to win equal education for Black students would receive a severe setback should Garrity rule that the new plan meets federal desegregation requirements. By even accepting the new plan for consideration, Garrity has thrown a sop to the racists.

Outgoing committee chairperson John Kerrigan termed Garrity's stand "a sign of reasonableness . . . the first one." He hailed Garrity's withdrawal of contempt charges as "a personal victory." Kerrigan has been the mastermind of the committee's efforts to block desegregation.

South Boston High reopened

Garrity's Jan. 8 decision coincided with the reopening of South Boston High School, the scene of the most violent resistance to desegregation. The school, which had been closed since a white mob threatened the lives of Black students on Dec. 11, reopened without incident.

However, a violent police attack on Black students occurred Jan. 9 at Hyde Park High School, where white

resistance to desegregation has also been high.

When South Boston High reopened, more than 500 local and state police were on hand inside and outside the school to enforce an order by Garrity prohibiting the gathering of groups of more than three people within 100 yards of the school. As a result, there were no "greeting committees" of bigots shouting racist epithets at Black students being bused there.

Attendance at South Boston High was low on the opening day. Fear of continued racist violence resulted in a drop of attendance by Black students. Only two buses came to the high school, both half empty. About 30 Black students, out of a projected Black enrollment of almost 400, showed up.

The racist boycott of school by whites also continued. Only about 150 of a projected white enrollment of 1,068 showed up.

During the week, Black enrollment figures crept upward as the heavy police presence resulted in a relative respite from the racist harassment that has been a daily occurrence for Black students attending the school.

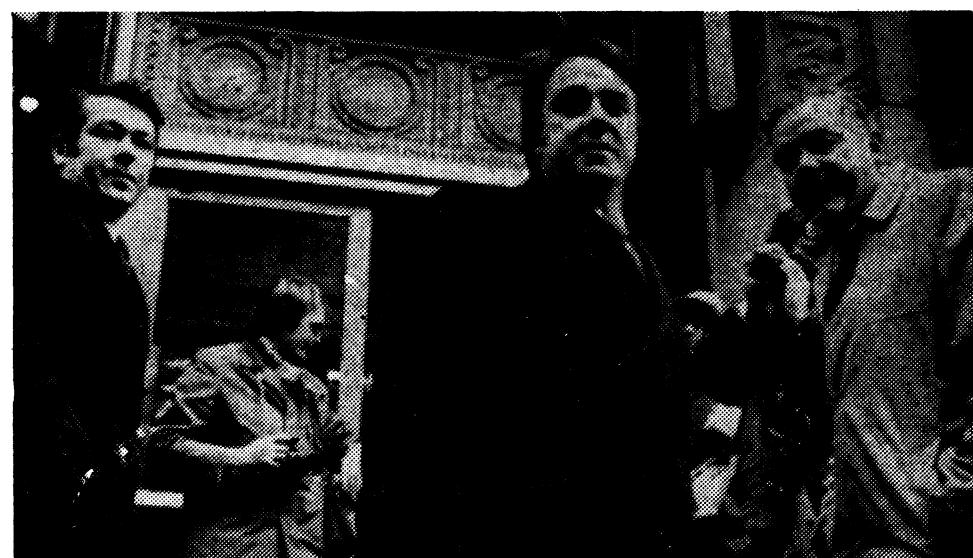
As the buses rolled up on the first day, however, one could occasionally hear shouts of "nigger." One bus driver told *The Militant* that rocks and stones continue to be thrown periodically from the white housing projects in South Boston as the buses pass by.

Fight at Hyde Park

At Hyde Park High School, a fight between one Black and one white student touched off a small police riot Jan. 9. According to witnesses, police patrolling the hall attacked Black students. Thirteen Blacks and only two whites were arrested. Several Black students and their parents have stated their intention to file suits against the police for brutality. The parents are protesting the disproportionate numbers of arrests of and repeated brutality against Black students.

Boston NAACP President Thomas Atkins charged that the police "created an incident by responding to a fight with incredibly bad judgment, almost without any judgment, they set upon the students."

The Jan. 9 incident forced the closing of the high school for the day.



Three recalcitrant school board members, from left: Paul Ellison, John Kerrigan, John McDonough.

On Jan. 10 the school reopened under heavy police presence, but 100 white students walked out of Roslindale High School in an antibusing protest.

Garrity will rule on the new school committee plan by Jan. 20. The original phase two plan, which Garrity has allowed the school committee to junk for the time being, would have doubled the number of students to be bused for the purpose of desegregation. Schools in East Boston and Charlestown, where antidesegregation sentiment runs high, would be desegregated under the plan. The NAACP has said it will resubmit the phase two plan to Garrity's court.

Other organizations are also expected to file proposals and amendments to the school committee's draft.

On Jan. 8, Boston Mayor Kevin White petitioned Garrity to permanently close South Boston High because of the violent incidents at the school. While Garrity has rejected White's request, he has agreed that closing the school is a possible "last resort" if racist violence explodes there again.

Governor Michael Dukakis, State Education Director Paul Parks, and White have announced the location of alternate school sites to the South Boston complex in "neutral locations" should the school be closed.

Since their last antibusing march, held on Dec. 15, the racists have not as yet renewed the weekly motorcades and rallies that they conducted throughout the fall.

The bigots appear to be concentrating their energy now in support of the appeal by the school committee to the U.S. Supreme Court, seeking a reversal of Garrity's original ruling requiring the desegregation of the schools.

White has agreed to have the city pay the legal costs for the school committee's appeal.

Bomb plot

In related developments, the FBI disclosed late in December that it has been investigating a plot by the racists to blow up "three access routes to East Boston as an antibusing protest," according to the *Boston Globe*.

It is believed that the group of 14 suspects, all South Boston residents, also intended to destroy several Catholic schools because of the Boston Archdiocese's support of the desegregation effort. The FBI, though indicting no one, has kept the case open, the *Globe* said.

Also, a staff report of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission made public Dec. 24 said the Boston busing situation may mark "a critical turning point in American racial history." It added that President Ford, by his antibusing remarks, has "contributed to the problem."

The commission, which supports the desegregation effort, said "some action is needed to strengthen the vacillating public officials, to move them to affirmative postures and to neutralize those openly opposed."

'We will defeat antibusing movement'

BOSTON—"For 21 years I walked the streets of the city of Boston without fear. . . . Now I'm afraid of this city. I'm almost afraid to go out of the house. . . .

"I wake up in the middle of the night and I think about it. I have to sit on the edge of my bed, shaking, until I can fall back asleep."

What Colly Seabron was relating to a *Boston Globe* reporter last month were his reasons for deciding to move back to his native Virginia. Seabron, a 48-year-old Black man, was beaten by six white hoodlums who dragged him from his delivery truck in South Boston on the afternoon of Oct. 23, 1974.

Since then, he's been a bundle of loose nerves.

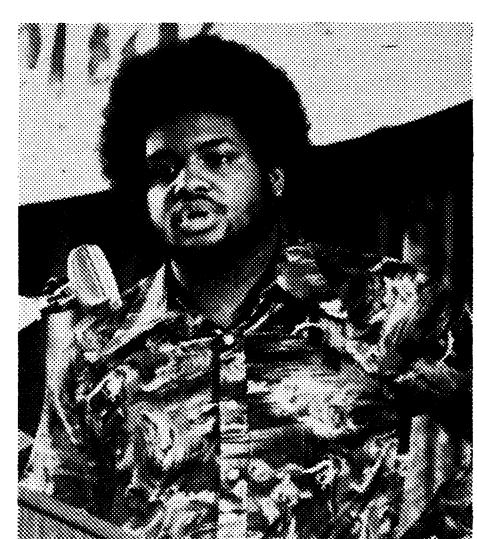
"We intend to defeat this antibusing movement, which has whipped some whites into an anti-Black fever, and make the streets of Boston safe again for Black people," Maceo Dixon, an organizer for the National Student Conference Against Racism, told *The Militant*.

The conference, which will plan

a course of action against the antibusing movement, will be held here Feb. 14-16. All who support the right of Black students to a desegregated education are urged to attend.

The conference has already received broad endorsement from student leaders and Black activists around the country. Recent new endorsers include John Lewis, executive director, Voter Education Project; Ralph Abernathy, president, Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Atlanta civil rights leader Hosea Williams; Sandra Flowers, National Black Feminist Organization; Reverend J. W. Stafford, Free-For-All Baptist Church, Atlanta; and Georgia State Representative Ben Brown.

Also, Sheryl Pence, president, Atlanta chapter, National Organization for Women; Gene Guerrero, executive director, Atlanta chapter, American Civil Liberties Union; Paul Zuchowski, student government president, University of Wisconsin at Madison; and the student



Maceo Dixon urged large turnout for student antiracist conference.

State of the Union

Even as Gerald Ford stood up to deliver his State of the Union message to Congress, thousands of angry people were marching outside the White House to demand jobs. Protests for jobs, organized by Operation PUSH, were also held on Jan. 15 in Chicago and other cities. (Next week's *Militant* will carry full coverage of these demonstrations.)

Despite talk about a "slowing down" of inflation, prices are rising faster than ever. More people are out of work than at any time since the Great Depression, with thousands more laid off every week. Working people are looking for answers and for action.

It may well be that few expected to get the answers from Ford—the latest Harris poll showed that 86 percent, a new record, disapprove of his handling of the economy. And there was nothing in Ford's speech to change that view.

The proposals to "fight recession" were little more than a public-relations sham—on a par with WIN buttons to "fight inflation." Along with the token tax cuts to allegedly stimulate the economy, administration economists were leaking forecasts that unemployment may hit 9 percent this year and remain above 7 percent *for years to come*.

Ford did not have one word to say about providing public service jobs for the millions desperate for work. Instead he offered:

- Drastically higher prices for oil and therefore for gasoline, electricity, heating, and before long for everything else.
- Huge budget deficits that will guarantee breakneck inflation for the foreseeable future.
- More tax breaks for corporations.
- Not another penny for urgently needed social services such as health care and education.
- Rollbacks on pollution controls, strip-mining curbs, and safety standards for nuclear reactors.

The Democrats responded to Ford's program with bluster. "It's merely rearranging the deck chairs on the Titanic," scoffed Senator Henry Jackson (D-Wash.). "Congress will not stand idly by," according to Robert Byrd (D-W. Va.). And House Speaker Carl Albert (D-Okla.) declared, "We want the American people to know we intend to move."

But when it came to specifics, the Democrats offered a program essentially the same as Ford's—only dressed up a bit with vague promises of tax reform and public works. Such promises are the standard script for Democratic liberals, but the proof will come in their real-life performance. Nearly all of Ford's proposals require approval by the solidly Democratic Congress, which could vote for genuine tax reform, an end to war spending, and millions of public service jobs if it so chose.

But it's a sure bet that what the Democratic Congress finally adopts will be little different from what the Republican administration has proposed, and for one simple reason. Both parties approach the economic crisis with the sole aim of maintaining corporate profits and the profit system. And the hard truth is that there is no way off the mad seesaw of inflation and recession within the confines of the profit system.

The Democrats and Republicans pretend to debate whether it is more important to "fight inflation" or "fight unemployment." But there is really only one fight going on: the fight to make working people bear the costs of preserving a capitalist system that is decaying and becoming ever more destructive.

The Socialist Workers Party candidates—Peter Camejo for president and Willie Mae Reid for vice-president—approach the problem from the opposite standpoint. They put the needs of working people first.

Ford's speech amounted to an admission that what lies ahead is more inflation and more unemployment. The SWP candidates reply that working people *can* protect themselves from this double-barreled attack, but not by relying on the promises and patchwork reforms of the Democrats and Republicans. Urgently needed are:

- *Jobs for all* through an immediate, massive program of useful public works. Shorten the hours of work for everyone, with no loss of weekly pay, to spread the available jobs to all who need work.

- *Cost-of-living escalators* in all contracts to automatically raise wages to fully compensate for every increase in prices. The same escalator provision should apply to Social Security, veterans' payments, welfare, and pensions.

Demonstrations like the Jan. 15 marches for jobs point the real way forward: independent action by working people in the factories, in the streets, and in the political arena to defend our right to a job and a decent standard of living.

Suggested reform

The Socialist Workers Party must be correct in saying that we have to change the system, not just reform it. For evidence, we only have to look at what a mess the present system has gotten us into after all the reforming done to date.

But here is one reform that would be a giant step: make it mandatory that all labor contracts be negotiated on the same day each year. Then the working people would find out that 1) no wealth is created without their labor, 2) the parasites reap most of the benefits of their labor, and 3) they have the power to change the system.

*L. U. Keppinger
Huntington Park, Calif.*

"Seize Oil?" the ruling-class publication *U. S. News & World Report* stated:

"... most strategic and foreign-policy analysts discount the risk of Soviet intervention. They see the Russians as realists when it comes to vital interests—theirs or America's. To quote a high-level U. S. policy maker:

"The Soviets would recognize that American military intervention in Arab oil states involved vital U. S. interests and only marginal Russian interests. They would stand aside—just as we did in Czechoslovakia where we recognized that Soviet national interests were at stake."

Such is detente.
*David Ellis
Indianapolis, Ind.*

Viva la causa!

I wish to thank you for sending me *The Militant*, and please do continue doing so.

My congratulations to all of you for your good work. I really enjoy reading *The Militant*. It's about the only paper that tells it like it is, especially in this town.

*Viva la causa!
Pablo Espinoza
United Farm Workers local director
Lamont, Calif.*

Furious

Please cancel my subscription as soon as possible. Your stand on the Middle East left me furious. I can't believe you are so easily persuaded by all the pro-Arab propaganda that is out these days.

Your essays were so biased that I would rather not read or have sent to me anything that I know is false and will greatly influence those who know very little of the subject.

*Andrea Liff
Mill Valley, Calif.*

Student athletics

Your readers, especially high school students and teachers, will be interested in a special form of discrimination that exists against potential student athletes in Washington, D. C.—and surely elsewhere. Many students are denied the right to participate in interscholastic athletics because they are "over-age." But for many inner-city students athletics is what keeps them in school and wins them college scholarships.

As a track coach at Cardozo High School I have seen students who would have become drop-outs stay in school and go to college because of their athletic skills.

The 1972 decision *Mills v. Board of Education* and the recently passed Student Bill of Rights guarantee all students equal educational opportunity until age 21. I have brought this matter to the attention of the D. C. school board, but have received nothing but harassment from school officials who are embarrassed by this discriminatory situation.

*Michael Gallion
Washington, D. C.*

Denied benefits

I am a World War II veteran and have been receiving veterans benefits for service-related injuries.

In January 1972 I filed for Social Security disability benefits. Although both private and government doctors say that my disabilities qualify me for these benefits, the Social Security Administration has denied them to me.

A recent article in the *Washington Star* shows that there are at least 4,200 others in the same predicament in Washington, D. C., alone!

I have refused to accept this arbitrary opinion, which shows no real concern for my health and welfare. On Dec. 20 I filed a lawsuit in U. S. District Court against Health, Education and Welfare Secretary Caspar Weinberger, asking that my disability benefits be granted.

I think that a victory in my case would help many in similar situations receive the benefits due them, which are now being denied.

*James Curry
Washington, D. C.*

Fruits of detente

With the growing economic crisis in the capitalist world, the American ruling class has found a convenient scapegoat in the Arab oil-producing countries. With the Arabs being blamed for everything from inflation to recession, there is mounting concern with the possibility of U. S. military intervention in the Mideast.

It seems that the ongoing debate in ruling-class circles is how to successfully seize Arab oil with the least risk to imperialism's interests. This debate automatically leads to speculation about the role the Soviet Union would play in the event of U. S. troops being sent in.

In an article titled, "Will U. S.

Behavior modification

We prisoners appeal to you for aid. In February, the state of Pennsylvania will open up the new maximum security facility that is now being used for the criminally insane.

This hideous facility is for the alleged incorrigibles in the state's five correctional institutions.

We "possible candidates" claim that the selection process will not only be prejudicial, but diabolical as well. The program is solely to change a man's way of thinking and to leave him barren of his instincts and responsibilities.

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



The Klan rides at Napanoch

Psychosurgery lobotomies and other behavior-modification programs—genocide—will be forcibly implemented to deter or terminate a prisoner's free will of thoughts and creative thinking.

To speak up against maltreatment or to protect yourself when you are approached in a threatening and belligerent manner will indubitably make you a candidate for Pennsylvania's new genocidal program.

We need the public's support. You may aid us by writing letters of protest to Governor Milton Shapp, Main Capitol Building, Harrisburg, Pa. 17120.

A prisoner
Pennsylvania

Prisoner fund

Thank you for continuing the prisoner subscription fund. I hope it remains as a permanent part of your organization.

Although I cannot make a monthly pledge, you can count on me for occasional contributions as long as I am financially able to.

I want my contribution applied to the free subscriptions for prisoners.

D. R.
Minneapolis, Minn.

In their names

I can't help but notice that many of your correspondents are my brothers and sisters, grasping at lines of freedom from behind bars, while I read *The Militant* from a home with wide-open doors.

I am very glad that *The Militant* gets through to them. Some may find it difficult to afford a subscription. For them, our brothers and sisters, I wish to send you the enclosed five dollars. Please accept my modest contribution in their names, not in mine.

M. M.
Los Angeles, Calif.

[*The Militant's* special Prisoner Fund makes it possible for us to send complimentary or reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help out, send your contributions to: *Militant Prisoner Fund*, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.]

Macmillan strike

A minor error crept into my article on the Macmillan strike that appeared in the Dec. 27 *Militant*. As printed, the article gives the incorrect impression that all of the striking workers were prevented by the company from returning to work—in effect, fired. Actually, about half of the strikers were fired.

Carol Lisker
Brooklyn, N.Y.

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

The Klan is a cowardly outfit. They have perfected the art of making Negroes be afraid. And as long as the Negro is afraid the Klan is safe. But the Klan itself is cowardly. One of them never comes after you. They all come together, 'cause they're scared of you. And you sit there when they're puttin' the rope 'round your neck saying, 'Forgive them, Lord, they know not what they do.' As long as they've been doing it, they're experts at it, they know what they're doing.

—Malcolm X

Nancy Loorie has faced the Klan and can attest to their cowardly acts. But she's not from the South. She's not even Black. And because she's still kicking today, she's never been the surprise guest at a Klan necktie party.

Loorie, 39, is the director of volunteer services at the New York state prison at Napanoch, where she's worked for a year and a half. Some of her co-workers are the finest people she can imagine. Some are not.

"I've known all along that we've had some really horribly overt racists there, but now we've been able to find out the organization that some of them belong to," she told *The Militant* the other day.

Some of Loorie's co-workers, you see, are members of the Ku Klux Klan—about 15 or 20 by her estimate. And because she always treats the prisoners—60 percent of whom are Black—like human beings, that drives the KKKers crazy. She even leaves her office to mingle with the prisoners—a woman, a white woman at that!—and that drives them batty too.

So last September the KKK began a campaign of harassment to drive Loorie out of the prison. They sent her nasty notes, broke into her office, banged up her car, and did other mean things.

An investigation found that the Grand Dragon of the New York Klan, Earl Schoonmaker, was a teacher at the prison. And because he insisted on bringing in material not listed on the course syllabus—Klan literature—prison officials dismissed him on Dec. 23. Now the guards are really mad.

They've tried to pit the prisoners against her and against each other. But the prisoners have "exhibited beautiful self-control," Loorie said.

"Although the focal point is on me, it's not really me," Loorie says.

"The guards used to look down on them [the prisoners] and feel superior to them, and now suddenly they have all these people who know their rights, who know what's happening and insist upon being treated as human beings."

Loorie, who used to be president of the Local American Civil Liberties Union, now keeps a loaded revolver in her home, though friends have advised her to get a shotgun and be on the safe side.

She believes that "every citizen should have the right to belong to any group he wants to, but if your job means that 85 percent of the people you're dealing with are not white and you are such an overt racist that you have to join the Ku Klux Klan, which is hardly the Lion's Club, then there's no way you can be fair."

Schoonmaker openly defends his racist views. "I consider myself biased, but not prejudiced," he says. "A prejudiced person doesn't know what he's talking about. I'm a white Christian and I'm proud of my race and proud of my religion and proud of the civilization we have created. I don't think we have to bow down to anyone."

Loorie is trying to get all the Klansmen fired, but prison authorities are resisting.

The presence of Klan members in prisons, riding roughshod over defenseless prisoners, is an affront to prisoners and Blacks everywhere. It simply should not be tolerated. If the prisoners had an elected committee with the power to control who gets hired and who gets fired, that would put a quick end to the Klan's presence.

Then the only place people like Schoonmaker could ride would be into the sunset.

(NOTE TO PRISON CENSORS: If you've read this far, you'll probably keep this issue of *The Militant* from reaching our prison subscribers. You'll likely say this issue "incites disrespect for correctional authorities" or some such garbage. But you can't outlaw the ideas we are voicing. Many of our readers with friends and relatives behind your bars will clip this column and get it to those for whom it is written. And you can bet our prison subscribers will continue to protest the unconstitutional regulations that allow you to arbitrarily ban certain issues. Above all, you will never stamp out "disrespect" for Klan agents and other racists with positions of authority over our brothers and sisters in prison.)

Women In Revolt

Linda Jenness



Setback for affirmative action

The Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) is, at best, a fair-weather friend of women and the oppressed minorities. No sooner does the economic going get tough than HEW retreats from its support to affirmative-action hiring programs.

A recent memorandum from HEW explains that the federal government's affirmative-action requirements for college faculty hiring "must not operate to restrict consideration to minorities and women only." The memorandum further warns that job requirements must not be waived or lowered in order to attract women and minority candidates.

To read the memo one would think that colleges and universities have hired nothing but women and Blacks over the past few years and it was now time to give the white men a break. That's hardly the case.

"Statistics from the American Council on Education show that in 1969, 2.2 per cent of college and university faculty positions were held by blacks, and 19.1 per cent were held by women," reports Tom Wicker in the *New York Times*. "By 1973 . . . those percentages had grown scarcely at all—to 2.9 per cent for blacks, and to 20 per cent for women. White males are plainly not being excluded—much less removed—from faculties, nor do the percentages of blacks and women yet suggest that the effects of discrimination against them have been overcome."

Other statistics show that of the men on college and university faculties in the academic year 1972-73, 30.3 percent were full professors, and another 25.1 percent were associate professors. Only 11

percent of women were professors, and only 21 percent associate professors.

Foes of affirmative action are, of course, delighted with the HEW memorandum. Writing in the *AFL-CIO News*, John Roche congratulates Representative James O'Hara (D-Mich.) for his role in changing HEW's position. "For quite a while," he writes, "the opponents of reverse discrimination [his term for affirmative action] felt like voices crying in the wilderness. The Dept. of HEW seemed above the law, and its affirmative action enforcers, power-drunk, went wandering around the nation threatening administrations that did not present the proper demographic profile."

Albert Shanker, racist demagogue of the American Federation of Teachers, calls the new directive a "heartening action." And even more "heartening" for Shanker was the decision made by the New York State Commission on Human Rights, which ruled recently that a Puerto Rican woman hired as an acting principal must be replaced with a white man "born on the U.S. mainland." Why? Because, in the commission's opinion, the community school board members had voted on "an ethnic basis" and had discriminated against the white male because he was born "on the U.S. mainland."

The new HEW memorandum represents another attack on the gains made by women and Blacks through the affirmative-action programs of the past few years. It will encourage reactionaries like Shanker to try to roll these gains back even further.

The Great Society

Harry Ring



Terminal terminology—"Let's get away from the term, 'throw-away' packaging. A better, more meaningful name is single-use recyclable packaging."—William May, chairman, American Can Company.

See, it's simple—Can't cope with unemployment and/or inflation? Heed a New York credit counseling service. First, use only your net income in calculating your budget. Next, figure both monthly and nonmonthly ex-

penses in developing the budget. Finally, subtract expenses from net pay to determine expendable income. The expenses are bigger than the income? That's your problem.

For God's sake—Two Connecticut Baptist ministers may sue over a requirement that male students take a sixth-grade home economics course. Said Reverend Lynn Mays: "By having a young boy cook or sew, wearing aprons, we're pushing a boy

into homosexuality. It's contrary to what the home and the Bible has stood for. When God set up the human race there was a division of sexes. A woman's place is in the home, barring unusual circumstances."

The Kissinger Peace Plan?—While other Army reserve units were marching around, one Oklahoma company spent its two-week training period practicing running a government. According to Associated Press, "The op-

eration is designed to prepare the unit to assist in the reestablishment of governmental functions of a country outside the United States in the event of full-scale hostilities."

Thought for the week—"We scream and holler about marijuana but tobacco is the most dangerous addictive drug of all."—Frank Chappell, science news director, American Medical Association.

National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



Layoffs: challenge to union movement

Top officials of most major unions have made formal protests of some kind in recent months against massive layoffs. As unemployment accelerates at an increasing rate from week to week, the labor skates must create the impression that they are trying to do something about it.

Their protests until now have been scarcely audible, as if they were striving to maintain stoic silence in the face of adversity. Among the reasons for their strange behavior is that they don't know what to do and are afraid of saying something that may embarrass "their" industry. They don't believe that they can do much about the economic crisis anyway.

Union officials have not been called upon to trouble themselves much about such matters as unemployment and inflation since before World War II. They expect the employers or the government to provide jobs. They view their own function as only to negotiate a fair day's pay for a fair day's work. As for rising prices, this is something that will be regulated by the time-tested economic law of supply and demand.

These primitive notions are being dispelled by the hard facts of the present-day capitalistic economy.

In the past few years the union movement has finally come to recognize the need for a cost-of-living clause in all contracts to keep wages adjusted to rising prices.

Monopoly price-fixing has forced up the prices of all commodities while vast surpluses accumulate. The auto industry is typical. The price of a new car has jumped \$1,000 as acres of unsold models pile up at the end of assembly lines.

Since these new cars are priced out of the market

and cannot find buyers, the auto corporations are laying off workers and closing assembly lines. About 300,000 of the 700,000 members of the United Auto Workers (UAW) employed a year ago in auto plants in this country have been laid off. This has jolted the UAW officialdom to do something—but not much.

UAW President Leonard Woodcock is promising to bring several thousand unemployed auto workers to Washington, D.C., on Feb. 5, to ask the Ford administration for some form of relief. Up to now Woodcock has been more interested in relief for the industry than for the workers he is supposed to represent. However, early revival of the industry seems unlikely. According to Woodcock, "... projections based on industry figures indicate that a million employees of auto firms and their suppliers will be unemployed at some time during the first three months of 1975."

The UAW plans to send buses from its 23 regions in the United States and hold a rally at 9 a.m. in the Washington Armory, which seats 5,000. President Ford has been asked to speak to the unemployed auto workers. After that they may march to the capitol to petition Congress.

It is a modest demonstration, very respectful of the president and the Congress. A march on Washington for jobs is a good idea. But it would be better if the unemployed auto workers went to tell Ford something instead of listening to what he has to tell them. By Feb. 5 they should already know all that he has to say on the economy and some other matters too.

The UAW could have mobilized its ranks for the Jan. 15 "Jobs For All" demonstrations in Chi-

cago, Washington, and other cities organized by the Chicago-based civil rights organization, Operation PUSH. But at this juncture the entrenched officialdom of the UAW prefers to do its own thing.

It may be that hard-hit UAW locals around the country will decide to carry a message of their own to Ford on Feb. 5. The UAW has a rich tradition to draw upon. It has fought longest and hardest for the escalator clause to protect wages against inflation. It coined the slogan "30 for 40," a 30-hour workweek at 40 hours pay. It championed the idea of plant conversion after World War II, demanding that government-built tank plants be converted to the building of prefabricated homes instead of handed over to the auto corporations. And it called for public inspection of the secret accounts of General Motors.

These are useful ideas for the present scene. What the working class needs is a shorter workweek with no reduction in take-home pay. This would put laid-off workers back on the job. Something the unemployed auto workers can tell Congress is: "Pass a 30-hour work bill now."

This country also needs a massive public works program to rebuild the cities, clean up the polluted streams and lakes, build houses, and put together a rapid transit system connecting by rail all major cities. Such urgently needed projects would lift the quality of life and bring full employment.

It would also be a good idea for the unemployed UAW members, while they are in Washington, to let their "friends" in the Democratic Party know that they are tired of waiting, and intend to send some replacements to Congress who represent the working class, not the capitalists.

The American Way of Life

Frame-up at the Metropolitan Museum

Jean Toche, a New York artist, faces trial for supposedly sending a "kidnap threat" through the mail, a federal crime. The "kidnap threat" was actually an open letter that was sent to some 60 museums and news media.

One of the recipients, C. Douglas Dillon, is chairman of the board of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. Dillon is a banker and was treasury secretary in the Eisenhower administration. He is the one who called the police on Toche. In spite of what Toche's attorney Michael Ratner called "his increasingly foolish posture," Dillon has refused to withdraw the complaint.

Toche is one of the founders of the Guerrilla Art Action Group, an organization that looks to the tradition of the protest art of the surrealists and dadaists.

The part of Toche's open letter that brought his arrest was where he suggested that the officials of

New York's museums—some 10,000 persons—be held as "war hostages" until "a People's Court is convened to deal specifically with the cultural crimes of the ruling class." Toche contends that this was not to be taken literally.

The letter also demanded the release of Tony Shafrazi, the man who was imprisoned for defacing Picasso's *Guernica*, the famous antiwar painting that hangs in the Museum of Modern Art in New York.

A letter in defense of Toche has been sent to Dillon by Amnesty International, the New York Civil Liberties Union, and hundreds of artists, editors, poets, writers, and museum staffers. The letter points out that Toche obviously wasn't seriously intending to kidnap anyone and that his arrest is a clear frame-up and a violation of the right to free speech.

According to Toche's lawyers Michael Ratner,

Margaret Ratner, and William Kunstler, Toche has since 1969 "been active in most of the demonstrations that took place at the Metropolitan demanding basic changes in the museum's policy, especially its policy of expansion and attitudes toward the poor, the Black and Puerto Rican citizens, discrimination against women, and the museum's silence about the war in Vietnam."

The Metropolitan Museum, it was learned, kept a file on Toche as a "dissident artist." The file was turned over to the FBI when Dillon asked that Toche be arrested. To top it off, Toche was ordered by a federal court to submit to a sanity test to determine whether he was competent to stand trial. He was ruled "sane" last November.

Whatever one thinks of Toche's views or methods of protest, all supporters of democratic rights should join in demanding the dropping of all charges against him.

—MICHAEL SMITH

Ask \$300-million more for Thieu

Washington sends war signals to Hanoi

By PETER GREEN
From Intercontinental Press

Following the liberation of Phuocbinh, capital of Phuoclong province, by the forces of the Provisional Revolutionary Government on January 7, the hawks in Washington came out in force. Not only did they issue threats, some veiled and some not-so-veiled, but the White House and the Pentagon have set to persuade Congress to step up allocations for the war.

A U.S. Seventh Fleet task force headed by the nuclear-powered aircraft carrier *Enterprise* set sail from Subic Bay in the Philippines on the day that Phuocbinh fell. A United Press International report from Saigon quoted American diplomatic sources as having said that the ships

Kissinger issued the ritual denial—there was "no basis of fact" to the report, said a State Department spokesman—but the January 12 *New York Times* said that other officials had reaffirmed that Kissinger's regrets had been relayed to the Pentagon. According to one report from "well-placed officials," when Kissinger was informed that the task force had not been directed toward Vietnam, he responded, "Why the heck didn't we?"

At a news briefing on January 8, one day after the liberation of Phuocbinh, administration officials announced that Ford had decided to ask Congress for at least \$300 million in military aid for Saigon in the current fiscal year in addition to the \$700 million already appropriated. They also said that Ford would be asking for \$1.3 billion in military aid for the fiscal year beginning July 1.

The columnists and editorial writers chimed in dutifully. The U.S. "cannot cut and run," editorialized the January 8 *Christian Science Monitor*. Any supplementary aid request from Ford, they said, should be looked at "responsibly."

One "high Administration official" quoted by the January 9 *New York Times* also speculated that public knowledge of the supplemental request "might serve as a useful signal to Hanoi."

As though there were any shortage of such "signals."

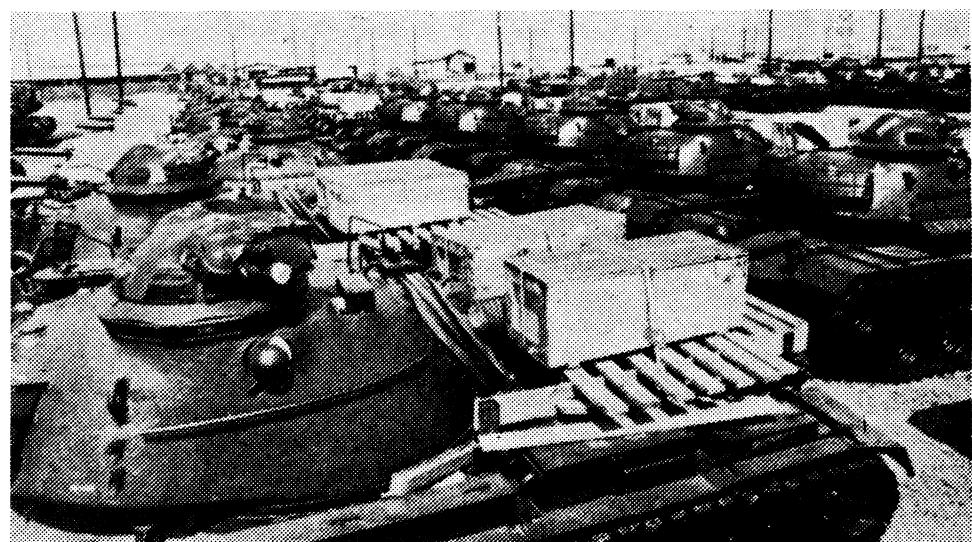
Stockpiles of U.S. ammunition in Thailand were being moved to South Vietnam, according to a U.S. military spokesman in Bangkok quoted by the January 10 *Washington Post*.

Marine and air force units at the U.S. base in Okinawa, Japan, had been put on alert since January 6, the *Washington Post* reported on January 10. Marine authorities denied the report and air force officials declined to comment.

On January 11 Washington admitted that U.S. planes are doing reconnaissance of North and South Vietnam. The question was raised when *Nhan Dan*, the official Hanoi newspaper, said that "manned and pilotless reconnaissance planes from U.S. bases in Thailand" had guided the heavy retaliatory bombing raids against Locninh, the PRG administrative center thirty miles from Phuocbinh.

The *Nhan Dan* report was officially denied by the U.S. Embassy in Saigon, the January 12 *Washington Post* reported, "but sources acknowledged that American planes had been flying reconnaissance missions along the North Vietnamese coast and over South Vietnam and Cambodia ever since the Paris cease-fire agreement was reached two years ago."

The deployment of the naval task force, the soundings about supplemen-



U.S. tanks rushed to Saigon prior to 1973 'cease-fire.' U.S. aid to Indochina war has topped \$6-billion in two years since 'peace' accords.

tal aid for Thieu, the shipment of ammunition stocks to Saigon, the mobilization of the marines, and the admission about flights of spy planes over Vietnam, all these actions had the same purpose—putting pressure on Hanoi and the liberation forces, and trying to create a climate in the United States that would allow Washington to escalate its military intervention.

The actual fall of Phuocbinh was only incidental to the process. In fact, plans for the Pentagon's propaganda offensive had been made well before the capture of the provincial capital, according to the January 9 *New York Times*:

A Pentagon memorandum written several weeks ago called for a broad publicity campaign to convince congress and the public that an emergency effort was needed or the Saigon government would run out of ammunition in 30 days.

Senators and Congressmen were to be encouraged to visit South Vietnam, reports and assessment from the field were to be shown to them, material was to be leaked to reporters and certain Congressional committees were to receive special attention.

The usual denials were forthcoming. "When asked about the memorandum, a ranking Pentagon official responded that it had 'no status' and that 'there is now no calculated campaign, but one may develop.'

However one interprets the "no status" category, Phuocbinh was certainly seized by the Pentagon as the cue to fully develop its campaign.

"... Phuocbinh, a military debit, is about to be converted into a political asset by allied planners," wrote the January 12 *Washington Post*. "They are displaying Phuocbinh as a grim example of the fate that awaits more important South Vietnamese towns, cities and provinces unless the new Congress provides more aid." Phuocbinh was portrayed as the opening of a big new offensive by the liberation forces.

The reality is somewhat different. Phuocbinh was an isolated pocket of Saigon military resistance in a province almost totally under PRG control.

"The communists controlled everything but the towns anyway," said one analyst quoted by the January 4 *Washington Post*. "Phuoclong was like an overripe fruit waiting to be plucked off, and they could have done it any time during the past two years."

Apart from the general stepping up of military activity during the dry season, one reason for the removal of this outpost now rather than at some other time was given by *Nhan Dan* on January 6. *Nhan Dan* accused

Thieu of sending troops and tanks to comb the countryside of Phuoclong province and other regions, burning rice harvests that the Saigon army could not seize.

In a dispatch from Saigon to the January 12 *Washington Post*, Philip A. McCombs reported that most "Hanoi-watchers" there were agreed that a general offensive was not in the offing. McCombs reported that the number of PRG troops in South Vietnam was about the same as at the time of the cease-fire.

According to analysts there, he said, the current fighting "has limited military objectives." He also pointed to the importance that Hanoi is currently attaching to its own economic development. The general opinion was that "Hanoi is unlikely to order any vast escalation of its military activities in the South if it would jeopardize the long-term development of the North."

The North Vietnamese themselves denied charges by Washington and Saigon that a general offensive had been launched. In a statement broadcast by Radio Hanoi and quoted in the January 5 *Washington Post*, a spokesman for the North Vietnamese Foreign Ministry said the charges were "a trick aimed at misleading public opinion and covering up U.S. and South Vietnamese systematic violations of the Paris agreement on Vietnam."

"It is also aimed at pressing the U.S. Congress to increase aid to South Vietnam," the broadcast said.

At first glance, Ford's prospects for getting his aid proposals through Congress don't seem promising. Senate Democratic leader Mike Mansfield told reporters January 9 that Congress would resist Ford's proposals. "Additional aid means more killing, more fighting," he said. "This has got to stop sometime."

However, Chairman John C. Stennis of the Senate Armed Services Committee said that if "there is real proof" of need for additional aid "then I would take the lead in helping get more money. It doesn't look good over there."

In the past the White House has been very adept at digging up the kind of "real proof" to crumple the token resistance of Congress. Often

According to figures recently compiled by Representative Les Aspin, the U.S. Congress has now authorized more than \$6 billion in U.S. military and economic aid to Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia since the January 1973 "cease-fire," plus about \$2 billion more spent for U.S. support forces in the area.

"This must be the most expensive cease-fire in the history of man," Aspin said. "It must also be the phoniest."

U.S. threat

In a new escalation of its war threats against Vietnam, the U.S. State Department released a statement Jan. 13 accusing North Vietnam of "turning from the path of negotiation to that of war." The U.S. rulers stated that Hanoi "must accept the full consequences of its actions," without saying what those "consequences" might be.

On the same day the Defense Department revealed that the aircraft carrier *Midway*, along with two destroyers and a guided-missile frigate, had left Japan for an undisclosed destination. Pentagon officials denied they were definitely heading for Vietnamese waters, but suggested that the administration had deployed them to keep open the option of intervention in Vietnam.

would sail into Vietnamese waters to demonstrate support for South Vietnam and as a warning to North Vietnam. Speculation and rumors about resumption of direct U.S. involvement were sparked off around the world.

The White House issued denials, disclaiming any intention of defying legislative bans on U.S. reentry into the civil war. The mission of the six-ship naval task force, a Pentagon spokesman insisted, was "not connected with anything going on in South Vietnam."

Just in case anyone missed the real point of the exercise and for some reason took Washington's denials at face value for a change, the opinions of Secretary of State Henry Kissinger were leaked to the press. Quoting "administration officials," the January 11 *New York Times* reported that Kissinger had "expressed regret to the Pentagon" that the naval task force "had not been used to signal American determination to North Vietnam. . . ."



War refugees in the south. U.S. planes guided Saigon's bombing of Locninh, according to North Vietnamese.

Detente vs. world revolution

How Bolsheviks used diplomacy to adv

Second of a series

By CAROLINE LUND

According to the *Daily World*, newspaper of the U.S. Communist Party, the détente between Washington and Moscow can lead to an "irreversible cooperative relationship" between the two countries and social systems. The *World* hailed the Vladivostok summit meeting last November as a step toward "peace for all."

The *Daily World* was even more categorical in its report on the June 1973 Nixon-Brezhnev summit in Washington. Under the headline "Pact signed to end A-war peril," the article opened with the statement, "With the eyes of humanity upon them, the Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev and President Nixon signed at the White House today an agreement to 'exclude the outbreak of nuclear war!'"

This position—that the danger of war can be eliminated by pieces of paper signed by the U.S. imperialists and the Kremlin bureaucrats—is a complete repudiation of Marxism, of the positions of Lenin, and of the principles upon which the Soviet state was founded. It has also been refuted by the actual course of history.

Lenin explained that wars are not caused by the good will or bad will of governments, but by the contradictions existing within and between economic and political systems.



Revolutionary uprising in Berlin, 1918. Bolshevik foreign policy at the time was geared to promoting a socialist revolution in Germany . . .

Throughout recorded history humanity has suffered terrible bloodshed from wars resulting from the conflicts inherent in various economic systems based on private property and class divisions.

With the rise of capitalism, the level of destruction caused by war has far exceeded that of all preceding history. The new methods of slaughter have caused the death of 50 million in World Wars I and II alone.

No peace under capitalism

In his book *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Lenin explained why the root cause of war in the present epoch is the capitalist economic system itself. He explained that competition for profits leads inexorably to the growth of huge monopoly powers, spreading throughout the world in their drive to gain control over markets and raw materials.

This internal expansionist drive of capitalism leads to the three main aspects of the war danger today: imperialist aggression against the colonial world, conflict between the imperial-

ist powers, and the imperialist drive to reverse the socialist revolutions that have taken huge sections of the world out of the reach of the capitalist exploiters.

Since Lenin's time, the development of nuclear weapons has added a new dimension to the imperialist war danger. The imperialists no doubt have more hesitations now about moving to all-out war, if only because of the possibility that it could mean self-annihilation. But the predatory nature of capitalism remains unchanged. Any major confrontation threatens to touch off the imperialist stockpile of nuclear weapons.

But the bureaucratic rulers who sit in the Kremlin ignore this objective reality. They would have us believe that today détente can solve the problem of war. This theory is not new—it has been the policy of the Kremlin since Stalin's rise to power in the 1920s. It was originally formulated by Stalin as the theory of "socialism in one country"—the idea that imperialism would allow the Soviet workers state to exist and develop if it did not promote revolutions in other countries.

World socialism

This represented the complete abandonment of Lenin's analysis of the nature of imperialism. The view of

talk about reducing armaments, no 'democratic' reorganizing of the League of Nations will save mankind from imperialist wars."

Lenin's view of the international position of the first workers state was that salvation of the Soviet Union "is possible only along the road of international socialist revolution that we have entered."

He stated further: "The Russian proletariat cannot by its own forces *victoriously complete* the socialist revolution. But it can give the Russian revolution dimensions such as will create the most favorable conditions for it, such as will in a certain sense *begin* it. It can facilitate matters for the entrance into a decisive battle on the part of its *main* and most reliable ally, the European and American socialist proletariat."

The early Soviet government under Lenin concluded many trade and military agreements with the imperialist countries, according to its needs. This is an absolute necessity for any workers state existing within a predominantly capitalist world economy.

But for Lenin and the early Bolsheviks, Soviet diplomatic policy was viewed in the context of the needs of the world struggle for socialism. The real audience for their diplomacy—the power that they appealed to—was not the capitalist ministers of state, but the working people and oppressed peoples of the world.

For Lenin and the Bolsheviks, no narrow Soviet diplomatic needs could possibly justify telling lies to the world working class. In fact, diplomacy was seen as one vehicle for educating the workers and peasants of the world about the expansionist drive of imperialism and the differences between a workers government and the capitalist rulers.

Lenin polemicized against the "reactionary method of consoling the masses with hopes of permanent peace being possible under capitalism, distracting their attention from the sharp antagonisms and acute problems of the present era. . . ."

No secret diplomacy

One principle that flowed from this approach was that of no secret diplomacy. The early Soviet government proclaimed to the peoples of the world that its foreign relations would be totally different from those of any previous government—that as a state embodying the interests of the masses

of workers and peasants, it had no interests apart from the masses of toiling people of the world and would conduct its diplomacy openly.

The "Decree on Peace" adopted on Nov. 8, 1917, by the new Soviet government declared: "The government abolishes secret diplomacy, and, for its part, announces its firm intention to conduct all negotiations quite openly in full view of the whole people. It will proceed immediately with the full publication of the secret treaties endorsed or concluded by the government of landowners and capitalists from February to October 25 [Nov. 8 on the Western calendar], 1917."

Brest-Litovsk negotiations

The Bolshevik approach to diplomacy was illustrated in the 1917-1918 Soviet-German peace negotiations held in the German-occupied East European city of Brest-Litovsk.

The Bolsheviks had denounced World War I as an interimperialist war aimed at dividing up the world among the capitalist profiteers. One of the reasons for the victory of the October 1917 revolution was the Bolsheviks' stand against the war.

After the revolution the Soviet government had to decide exactly how to extricate itself from the imperialist slaughter. Large sections of the former Tsarist empire were occupied by troops of the German Hohenzollern empire. The Western powers that had been allied with Tsarist Russia were equally hostile to the new Soviet government.

After Soviet appeals for a general peace were rejected by the Western powers, the Soviets agreed to participate in peace talks with Germany alone.

Leon Trotsky, commissar of foreign affairs of the Soviet government, was sent to head up the negotiations at Brest-Litovsk. Refusing categorically to engage in any secret negotiations, the Soviet representatives used the diplomatic arena to explain the truth—that the new workers state was forced by its weakness to sign a separate peace with Germany.

Internationalism

When Trotsky arrived in Brest, together with Karl Radek, they conducted themselves in such a way as to make a demonstration of internationalism and of rejection of the standard



... North Vietnamese workers vow to resist U.S. aggression of 1960s. Kremlin foreign policy now is to sacrifice Vietnamese revolution on altar of detente.

Working for Ma Bell: 'It's almost slave labor'

By RACHEL TOWNE

NEW YORK — The men and women who keep the nation's vast telephone network functioning—or try to—are beset by problems of rising prices, job insecurity due to automation, and harsh working conditions dictated by an arrogant management.

The three-year contract negotiated last year by top officials of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) offers little to alleviate their plight, though, says Dennis Serrette.

Serrette is vice-president of CWA Local 1101 in New York and president of the New York state chapter of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists.

In a recent interview with *The Militant*, he discussed the contract and the conditions facing employees of the vast Bell Telephone System.

Last year's bargaining was the first to be conducted nationwide between the Bell System and all the unions representing telephone workers, Serrette pointed out. Half a million are in the CWA and another 250,000 are represented by various other unions, the most important of which is the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW).

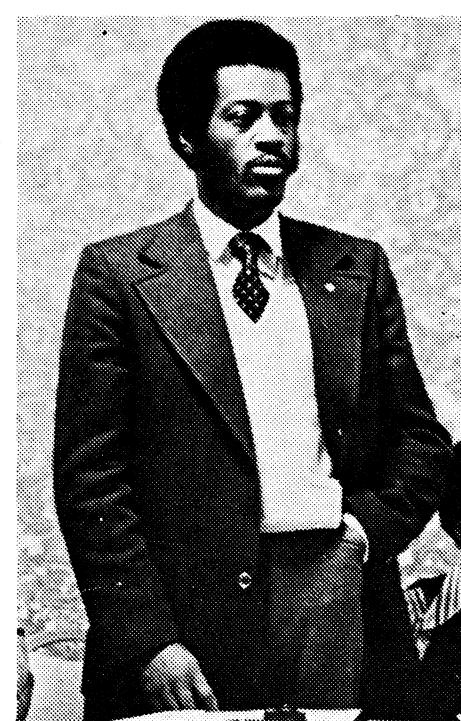
The united bargaining could have led to major gains, and rank-and-file sentiment for a strike was high, but CWA President Glenn Watts announced an agreement with the Bell System just hours before the scheduled strike deadline last Aug. 4.

"Most of the rank and file feel that we were sold out," Serrette said. "This is the feeling all around the country, especially in the major cities. They feel we should have had more wages, that there should have been some language on automation and 'absence control.' These have been issues for a long time."

Threat of automation

Automation is a major threat to telephone workers, Serrette said. "It is cutting us down at a frightful rate. We are at a point where many classifications are in trouble, including repairmen, installers, and operators. The telephone company is now asking people to take the phones home and just plug them in."

"Three years ago AT&T stood at 108,000 employees, operators as well as crafts. Since that time they have moved the figure down to 82,000 and they are speaking in terms of 78,000."



Militant/Baxter Smith

Dennis Serrette, vice-president of Communications Workers Local 1100 in New York.

"So they cut out 20,000 employees over three years and they are trying to push it down even further. I would say that eventually the company wants to have a completely automated system," Serrette added.

The demand for a shorter workweek "is always on the bargaining list," he said, "but somehow it always ends up at the bottom. I predict that it will be the foremost issue at the next bargaining session, though. It is going to be an increasingly important question as unemployment increases and as many other industries are also automated."

The company's degrading treatment of telephone operators, nearly all of whom are women, "is one of the most brutal examples of almost slave labor you could ever see anywhere. They have to raise their hand and ask permission to go to the bathroom. They cannot chew gum. They cannot turn from side to side. They cannot sound to an irate customer like they got up on the wrong side of the bed. Then on top of all that they are timed at their breaks by a bell."

'Absence control'

One of the worst abuses is "absence control," the company policy on time off for sickness, personal business, or any other reason. "There are five 'steps' to the plan," Serrette explained. "The fifth step is 'final warning.' It does not matter how much time you have with the company, even if you have 18 years, you are not allowed to take any more time off."

"God forbid you should get sick, because you can be fired. For fear of being fired, many operators and other workers come in sick or are forced to neglect their children. Three operators have died in New York in the past year directly because of this policy."

In New York the operators are represented not by the CWA but by the small Telephone Traffic Union.

Serrette said the wage increase in the current contract is about 10.3 percent in the first year and 3.1 percent in each of the next two years—far below the rate of inflation. There is a cost-of-living escalator clause, but Serrette estimates it will only add \$13 or \$14 to weekly wages in its first year. And the raise comes only after a full year of inflation, so that "we always end up losing a year on this thing."

He said operators make about \$170 or \$180 a week and skilled workers will be getting \$300 a week by the end of the contract. "They still fall far short of other industries in terms of benefits and other things."

It is Serrette's opinion that the top union leadership did not press for better terms because they were mainly concerned with securing the "agency shop" nationwide. An "agency shop" simply provides that all employees have to pay dues whether they are union members or not. The New York CWA has had such a provision since 1971, when they struck independently for seven months.

Serrette thinks that the national union officials were alarmed about the prospects for losing membership and that "the only guarantee of growth that they would have in these hard times is for an agency shop. This more or less assures the financial development of the union itself."

The IBEW did strike Western Electric, a subsidiary of the AT&T con-

Continued on page 22

Once class struggle



LENIN: The Soviet government 'abolishes secret diplomacy' and will 'conduct all negotiations quite openly in full view of the whole people.'

lies and niceties of capitalist diplomacy. As they got off the train, they let the official German delegation stand waiting while they proceeded to distribute antiwar leaflets to the German soldiers.

As part of its campaign to demand an end to the imperialist slaughter, the Soviet government spent two million rubles to aid antiwar and revolutionary propaganda abroad, and publicized this fact.

In all ways the Soviet delegation comported itself in a manner befitting workers' and peasants' representatives in facing the representatives of the bosses and exploiters.

The members of the Soviet advance delegation to Brest were inexperienced, and were at first somewhat taken in by the German attempts to soften them up with diplomatic wining and dining. One of Lenin's instructions to Trotsky was to call a halt to all such relationships.

One of the German negotiators wrote in his diary, "The easy social intercourse outside the conference hall has ceased. Trotsky has requested that the delegations be served their meals at their quarters and has generally forbidden any private contact and entertainment."

The Brest-Litovsk negotiations gave rise to differences within the Bolshevik Party over the precise tactics to be followed. This debate over tactics revolved around what approach would best advance the socialist revolution in Germany and other advanced European countries. The differences that arose within the party at the time were explained by Lenin in the following way:

"Our extreme isolation from Western Europe and all the other countries deprived us of any objective materials for judging the possible rate of development, or the forms of growth, of the proletarian revolution in the West. The result of all this complicated situation was that the question of the Brest-Litovsk peace brought out many differences of opinion in our party."

One faction, headed by Bukharin, favored refusing to sign a peace with German imperialism and waging a war to extend the revolution into Europe.

Trotsky took the position of "no peace, no war." That is, he felt the Soviet government was not in a position to launch a revolutionary war, but at the same time should stall on signing any unjust peace terms with the German rulers until forced to do so

by a German attack. Trotsky thought this tactic would be most helpful to the German workers movement, the strongest in Europe, in making clear that the Soviet government was not making an unwarranted deal with their ruling class.

Lenin, on the other hand, favored signing the first peace terms proposed by Germany, following a brief stalling period in which to test the response of the workers movement in Europe to the Soviet bid for peace. He felt that it was impossible to predict revolution in Europe in the near future, and that putting priority on the immediate preservation and consolidation of the first workers state would be the surest aid to the world revolution.

His position had nothing in common with the Stalinist policy of subordinating the revolution in other countries to the diplomatic needs of the Soviet Union. In fact, in discussing the Brest-Litovsk negotiations with Trotsky, Lenin said, "If it were necessary for us to go under to assure the success of the German revolution, we should have to do it. The German revolution is vastly more important than ours."

Brezhnev and Nixon

What a far cry from the ingratiating buffoonery engaged in by Brezhnev today at the détente summit meetings!

What a far cry from Brezhnev's joking and clinking champagne glasses with Nixon at the May 1972 summit, while U.S. bombs terrorized the people of Vietnam!

Brezhnev even goes so far as to exchange gifts with the imperialist rulers at these summits. Lenin would have been revolted at such hypocritical displays. In June 1973, for example, Brezhnev accepted a jacket from Nixon complete with the presidential seal embroidered on the front. It was perhaps symbolic of the fact that Brezhnev and his cohorts had earned the seal of approval from the war criminal and gangster Nixon for the Kremlin's betrayal of the workers and peasants of Vietnam.

The enormous gulf between the diplomacy of the early Soviet Union and of the Kremlin today reflects the gulf between Leninism and Stalinism, between support for world socialist revolution and support for the capitalist status quo.

Next week, we will examine the reasons for Stalin's rejection of the perspective of world revolution and the ways in which Soviet diplomacy began to change in the late 1920s.

Police spying on Baltimore Blacks uncovered

By BAXTER SMITH

Baltimore Police Commissioner Donald Pomerleau, hoping to appeal to racist passions in a white reporter and make him kill his story, told him dossiers were kept on "just the Blacks," when confronted in December with evidence of massive secret police spying on Baltimore residents. But his attempt boomeranged.

In a copyrighted story that appeared Dec. 23, 1974, Baltimore *News American* reporters Michael Olesker and Joe Nawrozki told of secret police surveillance not only of Baltimore's Black officials and organizations, but

of clergymen, antiwar and women's liberation activists, labor unions, and reporters. The spying has gone on since 1966.

A subsequent *Washington Post* article quoted a police spokesperson as saying that the Inspectional Services Division (ISD), set up in 1966 and responsible for the surveillance, closed down its political surveillance operations in 1973. Olesker and Nawrozki, however, learned through sources in the ISD itself that the unit is still involved in such spying.

Last spring, they found, the ISD spied on municipal workers involved

in hospital, teachers', and sanitation strikes and infiltrated their strike committees.

The unit has also spied on city school board members and has kept dossiers on an environmentalist group that opposed a nuclear power plant at Calvert Cliffs. The ISD even kept dossiers on a consumers group that protested electricity rate increases.

Olesker and Nawrozki also found that ISD agents spied on reporters who wrote or broadcast critical or investigative stories on the police department.

But the bulk of the disclosures, which are bringing new headlines virtually every day, have concerned spying against Blacks.

The ISD has kept close files on State Senator Clarence Mitchell (D-Balt.) and on U.S. Representative Parren Mitchell, his brother, also a Democrat.

The ISD infiltrated Parren Mitchell's election campaign last fall and secretly photographed campaign workers, Olesker and Nawrozki found.

It was also disclosed that the ISD attended Parren Mitchell's election campaign functions to determine his links with militant Black organizations. One report filed about an ISD agent who attended a debate in 1971 between Mitchell and an opponent said the debate was attended by "elements

of the Black Panthers and the S.O.U.L. School (a Baltimore black activist group) which had been infiltrated by the ISD agent."

The report added that the "undercover man, who was new at the time, attended (the rally) only to increase his credibility with the Panthers and the S.O.U.L. School."

Public furor over the disclosures prompted the city to initiate a grand jury investigation. But Democratic Governor Marvin Mandel, after receiving a report on the espionage charges, has already said: "... there is no suggestion of anything wrong."

Upon learning of the existence of the files, Parren Mitchell demanded the resignation of Pomerleau.

"I am convinced that he is continuing that operation even up to now. He has done this knowing full well that that kind of domestic espionage is in violation of the constitutional rights of people," he said.

"It's obvious that he has conducted a Watergate-CIA type operation against black people and white social activists."

In their original story, Olesker and Nawrozki noted that the ISD "works directly with the FBI, Army Counter-Intelligence Corps, and at least some of the unit's top members have undergone training by the CIA."



PARREN MITCHELL: 'A Watergate-CIA type operation against Black people'

PSP hits FBI attacks on Puerto Rican radicals

By JOSE G. PEREZ

The FBI maintains 160 agents in Puerto Rico whose sole function is to persecute the proindependence movement on that island of 2.8 million people. This was among the facts revealed by a former FBI employee at a news conference in San Juan at the end of December, as reported in *Claridad*, daily newspaper of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP).

Gloria Teresa Caldas Blanco worked as a secretary for the San Juan FBI from July 1969 until the end of 1971, and during that time she held a top security clearance. After leaving the FBI she joined the Puerto Rican Independence Party and is now a member of the PSP.

Caldas Blanco revealed that one of the methods employed by the FBI is to send agents into proindependence organizations. "My sister Joan Caldas, who was a student at the University of Puerto Rico, was approached by agent Gordon McGinley. He offered her a monthly payment if she would join the FUPI and give them information on that organization." The FUPI is a university student group associated with the PSP.

Other FBI techniques included illegal mail tampering. "On various occasions I saw agents of the FBI bring in correspondence addressed to proindependence leaders and militants," Caldas Blanco said. "I was told that this cor-

respondence had been obtained directly from the general post office in Hato Rey through an FBI contact there."

She noted that sometimes the FBI would return the letters to the postal system for delivery, but in other cases the intercepted communications would be put in FBI files and never reached their destination.

The FBI also obtained copies of bank records of proindependence groups. The FBI would gather this material through a contact at the main office of the Banco Popular.

Among the organizations targeted by the FBI were, in addition to the PSP, the Puerto Rican Independence Party, the Nationalist Party, the Socialist League, the Puerto Rican Communist Party, and other left-wing groups.

Caldas Blanco noted that "at no time did I gain knowledge that any work was done with respect to the Popular Party, the New Progressive Party ... or any organization, open or clandestine, that promoted the status quo or statehood for Puerto Rico."

Particular targets for harassment were prominent leaders, such as Juan Mari Brás, general secretary of the PSP, and Rubén Berrios, a leader of the Independence Party who is also a senator in the Puerto Rican legislature. Their movements were followed on a 24-hours-a-day basis, not only



Former FBI employee Gloria Teresa Caldas Blanco with PSP leader Juan Mari Brás at news conference in San Juan.

in the United States and Puerto Rico, but even when they were visiting other countries.

Mari Brás, who also spoke at the news conference, pointed out that the FBI's actions violated the rights to freedom of speech and association. He said that sworn statements by Caldas Blanco would be submitted to the United Nations and other international bodies.

The PSP also pledged to defend the former secretary from any attempts to victimize her for bringing to light the FBI's activities. She has been threatened with a \$10,000 fine and several years in prison for revealing

information related to her work for the FBI.

The latest information about the FBI's activities comes in the wake of a stepped-up campaign of harassment of proindependence militants related to the recently concluded strike at the Aqueducts and Sewers Authority.

Earlier in December the PSP had responded to this harassment by filing a complaint with the Civil Rights Commission of Puerto Rico. The complaint charges the U.S. and Puerto Rican governments with a conspiracy to outlaw, disrupt, and discredit the party. A hearing on the charges will begin in February.

U.S. Army gives up witch-hunt against socialist

By CAROLINE LUND

After suffering much embarrassment and unwanted publicity, the Army has finally given up on trying to railroad Steven Wattenmaker out of the Reserves as a "subversive."

The Army had charged, in an Oct. 18, 1974, letter to Wattenmaker, that his retention in the Reserves would be inconsistent with "the interests of national security." But the only basis the Army could cite for this charge was that Wattenmaker was a member of the Young Socialist Alliance. The YSA, the Army claimed, was "controlled and dominated by the

Socialist Workers Party, which has been designated as a subversive organization by the Attorney General of the United States."

The only problem was that former president Nixon had officially abolished the attorney general's "subversive list" five months earlier. After being barraged with phone calls from reporters, and after reversing its position twice, the Army finally stated that the reference to the attorney general's list in the Oct. 18 letter was "in error."

The Army statement concluded, however, with the claim that "the Army has an obligation to discharge those

whose retention, in any capacity, is contrary to the best interests of national security."

Wattenmaker demanded an Army Field Board of Inquiry where he could challenge the blacklisting threat against him. Attorney David Kairys of the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee agreed to represent him.

Finally Wattenmaker received a letter dated Dec. 10 from Colonel Wallace Noll of the Army Reserve saying that "your case has been reviewed . . . and closed favorably." Apologizing for "any inconvenience

that may have been caused to you," Noll wrote that the Oct. 18 letter "has been withdrawn and is without force and effect."

Wattenmaker, who works in the YSA national office in New York, called the Army's retreat "a victory for the constitutional right of GIs to engage in political activity."

Calling the Army's apologies about inconvenience "pure hypocrisy," Wattenmaker warned that "the Army is probably right now trying to come up with new legal formulas for getting rid of GIs with dissident political views."

CIA investigation hoax

Rockefeller panel: bankers, businessmen

By CINDY JAQUITH

WASHINGTON, D. C.—A myriad of White House and congressional hearings were set into motion this week, aimed at stemming the growing public anger over illegal CIA spying here and abroad.

The panel of bankers and businessmen appointed last week by President Ford to investigate the CIA met here Jan. 13, primarily, it appeared, to pose before TV cameras. However, the panel head, Vice-President Nelson Rockefeller, once again affirmed to reporters his solid support for the CIA and other secret-police agencies, which he called "essential to our security as a nation."

The day before, Rockefeller had been confronted with yet another skeleton in the family closet—new evidence of the Rockefeller empire's close ties to the CIA.

At a Bertrand Russell tribunal in Brussels, ex-CIA agent Philip Agee disclosed that an oil company in the Rockefeller domain uses CIA agents to run security checks on employees in Venezuela. The company, Creole Petroleum Corporation, is an Exxon subsidiary. Rockefeller is the former director of Creole.

"In 1960," Agee testified, "they were letting the CIA assist in employment decisions, and my guess is that those name-checks . . . are continuing to this day."

Meanwhile, it was revealed that another "distinguished" panel member, former solicitor general Erwin Griswold, wormed his way out of an indictment for perjury in the ITT scandal. According to an article by Seymour Hersh in the Jan. 8 *New York Times*, Watergate special prosecutor Leon Jaworski decided to hush up Griswold's involvement in the scandal, leading several members of the prosecution staff to resign in protest.

Such embarrassing facts are making some politicians here chafe at the "poor selection" of the Ford commission. However, there is no evidence that Ford and the ruling class he represents chose the panel members lightly.

No 'runaway commission'

In fact, the *New York Times* reported Jan. 8, the blatantly pro-CIA make-up of the commission was chosen deliberately "to avoid a common occurrence of recent years—the runaway commission that issues findings or rec-



CIA spied on George Meany's mail to see if he was spending CIA funds 'properly.'

ommendations the President cannot accept."

Syndicated columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak pointed Jan. 12 to another reason for the composition of the CIA panel. It was "deliberately set in a conservative mold," they wrote, "to reassure the CIA that no witch-hunt is in store."

According to the columnists, the White House fears that the scandal could produce another "John Dean" inside the agency. They quoted an administration official who said: "If those boys get scared and start jumping ship, every secret in the agency may be up for grabs by the media. If they see a witch-hunt coming, they may want to save their own skins by quitting and spilling the beans."

As the credibility of the Rockefeller panel continues to decline, Congress is under more pressure to make a show of concern about the CIA spying. The Democratic leadership in Congress is in an uncomfortable position, since its members are the heads of the committees supposedly watching over agency activities.

Thus far, four congressional committees have announced hearings on the scandal. Senator John Stennis (D-Miss.), head of the Senate Armed Services Committee, said parts of his hearings will be open to the public. This is an unusual move for Stennis, an archeconservative. It indicates how worried the capitalist politicians are about the growing outcry against government spying.

Another Democratic committee head, Representative Lucien Nedzi of Michigan, said his special subcommittee on intelligence will also conduct hearings in public.

'Not a springboard'

However, an aide to Nedzi told *The Militant* that some testimony would have to be heard behind closed doors, because of "national security." When asked if the committee would solicit witnesses from outside the government, such as victims of CIA crimes, the aide barked indignantly, "This is not a springboard for people to air their views!"

In other words, the Democrats intend to "open" their hearings only as much as they are forced to. CIA conspirators such as Director William Colby and former director Richard Helms will be allowed to use the hearings as a "springboard" to justify their illegal attacks on dissenters, but their victims will not be allowed to answer. And the American people may not even get to hear all the testimony.

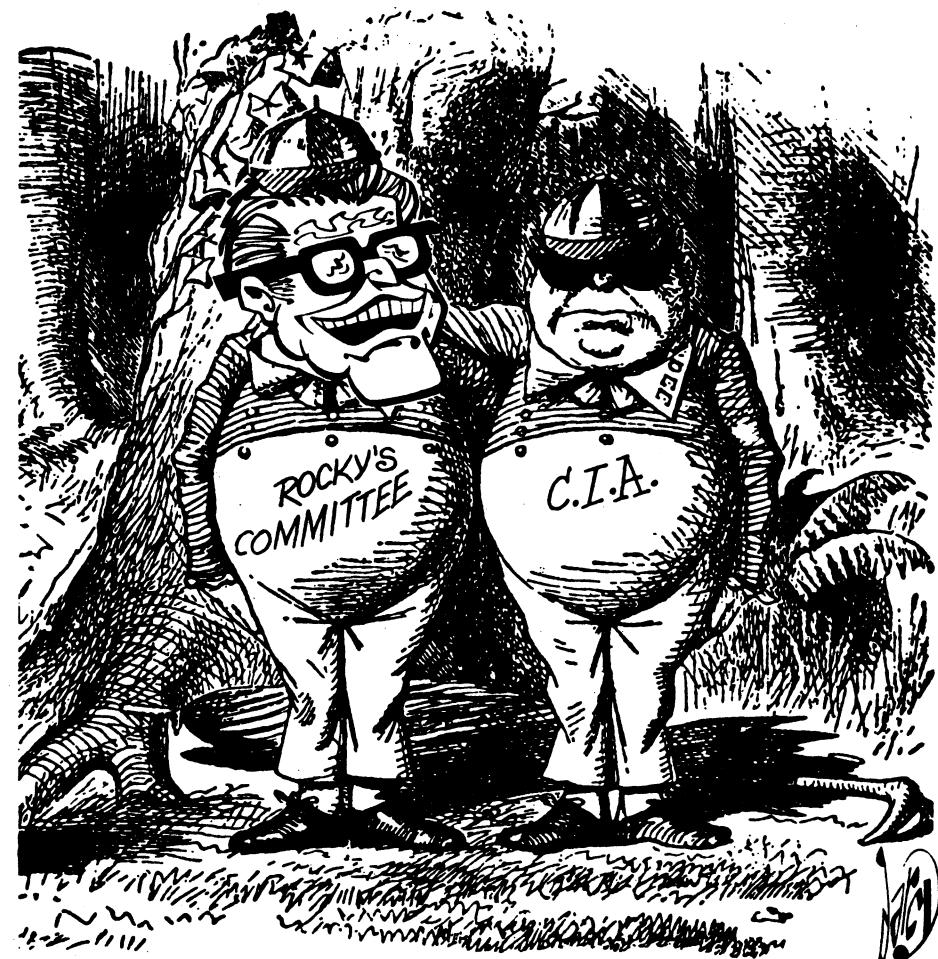
This is not surprising, given the nature of the committees doing the investigating. As Representative Michael Harrington (D-Mass.) pointed out in the Jan. 13 *Washington Post*, the intelligence "oversight" committees "have consciously steered clear of the agencies whose activities they are charged with monitoring."

"Rather than seeking out information about possible illegal or otherwise agency operations," Harrington charged, "they have conspired by silence and disinterest to shield the intelligence community from any congressional examination."

But the combined cover-up tactics of the Democrats in Congress and the Republicans in the White House have been unable to plug the continuing leaks of illegal CIA activities.

'Mail tapping'

Former CIA official Melvin Crain, in an interview in the Jan. 8 *New York Times*, revealed that the agency began opening and reading private mail at least as early as 1958. The practice



"We must have a bit of a fight, but I don't care about going on long," said Tweedle-dum. "What's the time now?" Tweedledee looked at his watch, and said, "Half past four." "Let's fight till six, and then have dinner," said Tweedle-dum.

was known as "mail tapping," Crain said, adding that "officials of the C.I.A. told me they knew it was illegal and unconstitutional"

Crain said he went to former secretary of state Dean Acheson—"one of my heroes"—to protest this practice. "I told him about the mail interceptions, that they were illegal and unconstitutional and should be stopped. But he seemed disinterested and impatient during our interview," Crain recalled.

One target of the mail tampering was AFL-CIO President George Meany. According to the Jan. 10 *Washington Post*, the CIA spied on

Meany's mail in the 1950s to make sure he was spending CIA funds properly. For years the agency had been secretly pouring millions into the AFL-CIO to undermine trade-union struggles in other countries, with the cooperation of the union tops. Meany's close colleague, Secretary-Treasurer Lane Kirkland, sits on the Rockefeller CIA panel.

The Army provided the CIA with secret briefings on domestic radicals. Ralph Stein, a former army intelligence agent, told the *New York Times* that in 1967 he met with high CIA officials "who asked a lot of questions

Continued on page 22

Judge orders government to produce secret CIA files

While President Ford's commission goes about its whitewash of CIA operations, there is another, much more vigorous, inquiry into the agency that might really force out some of the truth about CIA harassment of domestic dissidents. This is the suit by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance against the CIA, FBI, and other government agencies. The suit is demanding an end to all forms of government surveillance and political persecution.

On Jan. 7, District Court Judge Thomas Griesa, who is hearing the socialists' case, told the government's lawyer to produce all the CIA and FBI files dealing with any of their activities in relation to the YSA and SWP. He said he wanted "all the results of any surveillance conducted of the SWP or the YSA. . . . Whether it was under the Huston Plan or some other plan, it doesn't really make a lot of difference, just all the files relating to everything that was gathered about these plaintiffs."

Griesa said he also wanted any "documents relating to the purpose of the activities." He charged the government lawyer to get the CIA, FBI, and other government agen-

cies "organized to produce this material." And he added, "I really don't care how voluminous. If they have got file drawers and file drawers of material, just make it available, because we have to have it."

He agreed that the government could block out the names of undercover informers "initially at least."

The SWP and YSA suit is now in the stage of "discovery," which means that the two sides can request information from one another in relation to the charges. Griesa's request for all the files was in response to YSA and SWP demands for documents concerning the nature of government spying and disruption activities, such as the FBI's "Cointelpro" operations. The suit is expected to come up to trial some time later this year.

The Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF), which is organizing publicity and funding for the suit, is making a special appeal for support in view of the new opportunities the case provides to unearth CIA secrets. To send a contribution or offer support, contact the PRDF at Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003. Phone: (212) 691-3270.

Texas Blacks protest police murder

Young Black shot in back 'trying to escape'

By RICK CONGRESS

PORT ARTHUR, Tex.—The brutal police murder of a young Black man has sparked an angry, massive mobilization of the Black community in this small port city near the Texas-Louisiana border.

Following a series of protest demonstrations, 2,500 persons rallied in the Black community Jan. 9 in response to a grand jury report clearing the three cops involved in the killing.

The police victim was 22-year-old Clifford Coleman. He was fatally shot in the back early on the morning of Dec. 29 in front of the police station. He was handcuffed at the time. The police claim he was trying to escape.

Coleman had been pulled out of his parked car earlier in the evening by three cops and arrested on a charge of "abusive language," a misdemeanor.

In response to this cold-blooded murder, 300 Black people marched from the Christian Faith Church to city hall on the morning of Jan. 2. A delegation of 18 Black leaders, including clergy, representatives of the NAACP, and Black elected officials,

confronted the city council, which was meeting in special session. The Black leaders demanded suspension of the three policemen involved in the slaying.

The three cops had merely been reassigned to desk jobs pending the conclusions of a special grand jury inquiry into the killing.

Mayor Bernis Sadler rejected the demand that the cops be suspended. He said there was no evidence the three cops had done anything wrong, since Texas law sanctions the use of deadly force to prevent escape of an arrested suspect.

The Committee of Concerned Black Citizens (CCBC), a civil rights coalition in Port Arthur, rejected this reasoning. The committee demanded that the city manager or the city council take responsibility for firing Police Chief James Newsom as well as the cops involved in the killing.

City Manager George Dibrell also refused to take any action against the police, but tried to satisfy the CCBC with a four-point proposal that included a plan for a grievance procedure for complaints against the police and an offer to show the grand

jury report to the Black leaders.

CCBC leader Reverend Ransom Howard responded: "At this particular time, our committee rejects this whole proposal."

On Jan. 5 some 500 persons attended the funeral for Clifford Coleman at Mount Olive Baptist Church. Before the services several of those present described to *The Militant* the racism and police harassment that has long characterized Port Arthur, a city of about 60,000 that is 51 percent Black.

Commenting on the "law-and-order" statements by the mayor, James Towler remarked, "If law and order means getting shot in the back while handcuffed, we need a different kind of law and order!"

Another Black activist gave a personal example of the kind of sadistic treatment Black people receive from the racist police. He had been arrested (but never charged), beaten, and nearly shot in the head for refusing to kiss a cop's foot.

Thurmon Bartie, 20, a student at Lamar University and an activist in the protest movement against the police killing, summed up the feeling of

many by saying, "We're going to do something about this so that it won't happen again. We don't want violence, but any means necessary must be used to stop police murders like this."

On Jan. 6, 1,500 people attended an evening rally called by the CCBC. Reverend E. E. Gibbs, a leader of the committee, announced a march on city hall the next day to make sure that the scheduled "All-American City" celebrations would not take place.

Democratic Senator Lloyd Bentsen had been scheduled to speak to the city council that day in ceremonies honoring Port Arthur as an "All-American" city as part of the bicentennial celebration.

Mayor Sadler had canceled the celebration on Jan. 6, as demanded by the CCBC, after four prominent Blacks who had helped win the city's designation as "All-American" announced their withdrawal from the ceremony. The four cited the police murder and the reactionary stance of the city government.

Four hundred people marched on the city hall the morning of Jan. 7. After a meeting between the mayor,

Continued on page 22

Oil workers reach tentative contract settlement

The 12-member oil policy bargaining committee of the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers (OCAW), meeting at union headquarters in Denver, approved on Jan. 11 a wage settlement with Gulf Oil Corporation. Other oil companies are expected to concur.

The two-year Gulf contract calls for a 75-cent hourly raise retroactive to Jan. 8, when the old contract expired; another raise of 4 percent (averaging about 26 cents) on July 8; and 8 percent more (56 cents) on Jan. 8, 1976.

Hourly wages before the settlement averaged \$5.95. Under the new contract the average will rise to about \$7.52 at the beginning of the second year.

This is far short of OCAW's demand for a \$1.50 raise in each year of a new three-year contract, plus a cost-of-living adjustment clause (COLA) to protect wages against rising prices. COLA was a key issue in negotiations. The oil companies remain adamantly opposed to it.

The closest approximation to an es-



Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers President A.F. Grosipiron noted that local issues have yet to be resolved.

calator clause in the Gulf settlement is a clause to reopen negotiations in 1976, providing the U.S. Labor Department's Consumer Price Index rises 5 percent from the level of Jan. 1, 1975.

This settlement does not become final and will not set the wage pattern until it is ratified by a membership vote of 300 OCAW locals, representing 60,000 refinery workers.

Local strikes are underway in California, Texas, and Ohio. OCAW members walked out at Standard Oil's big El Segundo, Calif., plant; at Texaco plants in Port Arthur and Port Neches, Texas; at Gulf's Port Arthur refinery, where 2,500 are on strike; and at a Standard Oil refinery near Toledo, Ohio. Altogether about 8,000 strikers are out.

In Canada, oil and gas workers from Fort Nelson, British Columbia, to Montréal walked out for a \$1.50 hourly raise to offset inflation, and an escalator clause to protect their liv-

ing standards against continuous price rises. Contracts there do not expire until Jan. 31, 1976.

Struck Canadian companies include Texaco, Petrofina, Shell, BP, Canada Ltd., and Westcoast Transmission, which operates a natural-gas processing plant.

The Canadian strikers are members of OCAW, except for about 1,500 in Montréal who belong to the United Oil Workers of Canada.

OCAW is weakened by extensive automation of the industry, which makes it possible for small crews of scab supervisors to maintain production. The companies have traditionally taken advantage of this to impose a system of separate contracts, of which there are 430 in the United States.

After approving the Gulf wage settlement, OCAW president A.F. Grosipiron said, "The local issues, of course, will have to be resolved before there can be a complete settlement."

Job protest plans move ahead despite threat

By JUDY HAGANS

CHICAGO, Jan. 11—Amid the flurry of preparations to build the Jan. 15 demonstration to demand "Jobs for All," Reverend Jesse Jackson, president of Operation PUSH, was threatened today by a gun-wielding man.

George Jefferson, reported to be a Kansas state penitentiary parolee, stood up during Jackson's address to the regular Saturday PUSH meeting.

Shouting, "Jesse Jackson, I want to talk to you. Jesse, I've got a gun," Jefferson was disarmed by defense guards after drawing a 38-caliber revolver.

According to the PUSH communications department, two Chicago police officers were among the guards.

Jackson, charged with unlawful use of a weapon and failure to register a firearm, was being held on \$25,000 bond in Cook County jail.

Undaunted by the incident, Jackson

went on to speak of the need for "mass actions in the street" to demand that the government provide full employment. Operation PUSH initiated the call for the Jan. 15 actions, which have won broad support.

Among other speakers backing the Jan. 15 action were Chicago Alderman William Cousins; Jim Wright, staff representative, United Auto Workers; Charles Hayes, international vice-president, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America; Frances Davis, Operation PUSH; Jacqueline Vaughn, vice-president, Chicago Teachers Union; John Swearengen Jr., president, Chicago local, American Postal Workers Union; and a representative of the Senior Citizens Coalition.

In a press statement released after the rally, Jackson charged the federal government with failure to deal with "waste, the extravagance of the military budget, tax favors for the

wealthy, and present monopolistic and oligarchical practices of the largest corporations."

While calling for support to the Equal Opportunity and Full Employment Act of 1976, sponsored by Congressmen Augustus Hawkins (D-Calif.) and Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.), Jackson asserted, "The majority of us have seen our personhood attacked over the last few years because of the economic assault on our standard of living, still others have reached the point of outright human survival, but all of us feel compelled to move to the streets again."

Support for the Jan. 15 demonstration here has come from Blacks and many unionists.

Leaflets demanding "We want jobs now!" are being circulated by union officials and members who have formed the Chicago Labor Union Committee for Full Employment.



JESSE JACKSON: Threatened by gun-wielding man at Operation PUSH meeting.

World Outlook

A WEEKLY INTERNATIONAL SUPPLEMENT TO THE MILITANT BASED ON SELECTIONS FROM INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS,
A NEWSMAGAZINE REFLECTING THE VIEWPOINT OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM.

JANUARY 24, 1975

And more in store for '75

1974: A year of crises for Europe

By Gerry Foley

With the fall of the dictatorships in Portugal and Greece, the deepening of the prolonged crisis in Italy, and the buildup of tensions in Spain, the phrase the "soft underbelly of Europe" began to gain a new meaning in 1974.

Churchill used this expression arguing for a Mediterranean site for the Allied invasion of Nazi-occupied Western Europe. Militarily it was nonsense. Churchill's real objective was to head off social revolutions in this chronically explosive part of Europe.

In Italy, with the help of the Communist party, which called on the popular militias to lay down their arms and give allegiance to the slightly reconstructed fascist marshal recognized by the Allies as the ruler of "democratic" Italy, Churchill's strategy was successful. Now, thirty years later, the weakest links of capitalism in Europe seem once again to be nearing the breaking point.

In fact, the crisis of capitalism that hit almost all the advanced countries in 1974 affected Europe in a more uneven way than any other region. While in the Mediterranean countries, backward economies threatened to collapse under the pressures of inflation and the slump, Europe also included the world's most stable states, notably Sweden, the Netherlands, Belgium, Switzerland, and for the time being, West Germany.

The economic unevenness arose not just from the pattern inherited from the industrial revolution and the rise of modern capitalism but from some specifically post-World War II trends. Britain, historically the most stable of

the major West European states, joined Italy in the category of economically weakest large countries.

One factor in this turnaround was the failure of British capital to keep up with the advances in industrial technology and organization. Another was the strength of the union movement, which, in a contradictory way, because of its political backwardness, remained more united than in countries such as France, where it has been split among Stalinists, Social Democrats and Catholics.

Unrest in France

Although France has not yet suffered economic or social problems anywhere near as severe as Britain, the rise of massive strikes this fall set the capitalist commentators speculating again about the possibility of a revolutionary crisis in France similar to the one in 1968. In an effort to break long strikes by public workers, the Giscard d'Estaing government called out an army whose ranks have been showing signs of discontent.

While the French bourgeoisie has been able in the last decade to modernize its economy more quickly than its English ally-rival, its political machinery remains more clumsy and disjointed. Despite the fact that almost all the bourgeois political forces united behind Giscard d'Estaing in the May 19 elections in order to block a popular front set up by the Communist and Socialist parties, they have not been able to create a stable party to represent the bourgeoisie as a whole.

The political empire left by Charles de Gaulle collapsed in the first round

of the presidential elections May 5 when the official Gaullist candidate, Jacques Chaban-Delmas, won only 15 percent of the vote as opposed to 32.6 percent for the black sheep of the Gaullist family, the "modernist" liberal Giscard.

In the elections, Giscard was able to promise reforms almost as extensive as those called for in the popular-front program. In his first year in office, his credibility has waned very rapidly.

On the other hand, the revival of the Socialist party under Mitterrand offered the bourgeoisie more maneuvering room. Through its electoral alliance with the Communist party, the SP, which had been a declining shell since the second world war, gained new credibility as a broad party of reform.

It forged an alliance with the independent trade-union federation, the CFDT (Confédération Française et Démocratique du Travail—French Democratic Confederation of Labor), which includes new layers of skilled workers and has shown a certain openness to the radicalized younger generation. At the same time, the SP seemed to attract some of the young far left, such as, for example, Régis Debray, the systematizer of the "foco" theory of guerrilla warfare.

In the period since the May elections, tensions have increased between the revived SP and the Communist party, which now, for the first time in its postwar history, faced a strong competitor for the left vote.

The effects of the "energy crisis" also increased the national contradictions in the European area in 1974. This

took its most acute form in the threatened war between Greece and Turkey at the end of the summer. More than differences over Cyprus, the bone of contention was ownership of the oil found under the Aegean. However, the whipping up of chauvinism in Turkey and the dispossession of the majority of Greek Cypriots of their homes and property by the Turkish military occupiers considerably aggravated the festering crisis in the eastern Mediterranean.

The Greco-Turkish conflict also indicated that the détente has increased the possibilities for local wars into which the United States and the Soviet Union could be drawn. Such a sharp clash between two members of NATO would have been inconceivable before the U.S.-Soviet deal.

The energy crisis also sharpened the problems of one of the oldest capitalist states in Europe in more ways than one. A third of the Scottish electorate voted in the October 10 elections for a separatist party campaigning on the slogan that the North Sea oil profits should go to develop Scotland and not to bail out the British economy.

For centuries, the strength of the British state and economy has been so great that Scottish bourgeois and petty-bourgeois interests accepted integration in an English-dominated economy. Now the decline of that economy has led to the blossoming of probably the largest separatist movement in developed Western Europe since the Norwegian revolution of 1905.

Scandinavian Countries

In the case of Norway, the rush for the oil under the European continental shelf may have a direct effect on the youth radicalization. The dominant Maoist group has followed a nationalist-populist course. Since Norwegian oil claims may clash with Soviet territorial claims, the nationalism and extreme anti-Moscow line of the Maoists could take a reactionary direction.

Already in Sweden, the Peking leadership's line of a front against "the superpowers" has led the main Maoist faction to drop its defense of the Vietnam revolution in favor of turning its Vietnam front group to defending the "national interests" of Sweden against the "superpowers." In No. 6, 1974, of the internal newsletter of the "NLF Groups," the Maoist leadership said:

"Vietnam is no longer the flashpoint of the primary contradiction in today's world. Hard struggles are being waged on other fronts—Palestine, the raw materials question, and the question of boundaries for fishing rights."

For some small countries, questions that are still marginal in the context of the general resources crisis are matters of life and death. Iceland, for example, has been hard hit by the depletion of fish stocks in the North Atlantic. The conservative government, installed July 5, announced its intention to extend the country's territorial waters to the 200-mile limit. On No. 10, 1974, the "Continued on next page"



Militancy of Greek workers and youth, like that of Portuguese, exploded in 1974 and shows no sign of disappearing in 1975.
Above, Greeks demonstrate in Salónica.

... 'In these conditions revolutionary groups can make

Continued from preceding page

ember 24, the gunboat *Aegir* fired on a West German trawler off the coast of Iceland.

The small and narrowly based Icelandic economy proved particularly vulnerable to inflationary pressures. The price rise from July 1973 to July 1974 was more than 40 percent.

Another small Scandinavian country, Denmark, proved especially vulnerable to the change in the international economic situation. By the end of 1974, unemployment totaled 8 percent of the work force. The March 6 elections revealed general discontent with all the big parties. A demagogic "tax payers" party led by Mogens Glstrup won 8.5 percent of the vote.

On November 26, an estimated 100,000 persons demonstrated outside the government building in Copenhagen, demanding the resignation of the bourgeois government and measures to halt rising unemployment.

Irish Stabilization Erodes

In the formally independent part of Ireland, one of the weakest links both politically and economically in capitalist Europe, the precarious prosperity of the last decade began to collapse.

By January 1975, the Irish Economic and Social Research Institute estimates, unemployment will have reached about 90,000, close to 9 percent of the work force.

As the international crisis deepens, the foreign companies are closing down the plants they established in Ireland to take advantage of government tax concessions and cheap labor. At the same time, the benefits to Irish agriculture expected from Common Market entry have not proved lasting, even for the most favored categories.

der to British imperialism the furthest, its failure should tend to discredit the whole settlement with British imperialism represented by the 1957 Anglo-Irish Free Trade Agreement.

Growing discontent with the coalition government seemed to be preparing the way for a revival of mass anti-imperialist sentiment in the formally independent part of Ireland. This sentiment fell to a low point in 1973 following the demobilization of the oppressed Catholic population in the North, a process that culminated in the British military occupation of "Free Derry" on July 30, 1972.

However, the hard-pressed British capitalists have not offered any economic concessions to reduce the desperation of chronically unemployed Catholic youth. On the other hand, in the face of reactionary Protestant opposition, the political deal with the bourgeois nationalists that was based on the defeat of the mass struggle, the Sunningdale Agreements of December 1973, has not been implemented.

The war-weariness that set in with the decline in the mass movement seems, after another year of grinding intimidation and reactionary terror, to be turning into a mood of desperation, at least in some strata of the Catholic population. The concentration camps and prison complexes that have become a major feature of Northern Irish life exploded October 15-16 in a series of prison rebellions that touched off the strongest mass upsurge in the Catholic ghettos since the internment raids of August 9, 1971.

The movement in Britain for withdrawal of the troops from Ireland also showed an upturn in the fall of 1974 after a period of decline.

In the last weeks of 1974, the British bourgeoisie decided to take ad-



Immigrant workers in France. Racist attacks on foreign workers have been mounting in all of Europe.

referendum in Switzerland October 20 calling for mass expulsions of foreign workers. It was defeated with 66 percent of the voters opposed. But there will almost certainly be more xenophobic campaigns in the coming year.

In France, for some time there has been a pattern of rising racist violence against North African workers. In West Germany, where the most important concentrations of foreign workers exist, growing unemployment only began to attract attention at the end of 1974. If the economic system worsens, the German bourgeoisie will almost certainly exploit the special status of foreign workers, who have almost no legal rights, to make them pay the largest share of the cost.

'They Want Our Money'

With the lowest inflation rate and the most substantial liquid reserves, West Germany remained politically and economically the most stable of the major capitalist states. However, because of its dominant position in the area, the economic difficulties of its weaker Common Market partners tended to rebound against it. Bonn was forced to try to shore up the Italian economy by large loans. The question of loans to Greece and Portugal was raised. Other countries pushed for Common Market aid to disadvantaged regions, aid that would have to come essentially from Germany.

The December 2 issue of *Der Spiegel* offered long excerpts from a speech by Bundeskanzler Helmut Schmidt to a closed-door meeting in Berlin of the ruling Social Democratic party, in which he said, among other things:

"There are discussions in the Common Market on social funds and regional funds, on currency support and credits, on agricultural policy and mines. We are trying to minimize the sacrifices to the German economy without endangering European cooperation. I admit that no fundamental solution has been found. We could solve the problem by Europeanizing everything. But then our reserves would soon vanish. The Italians need \$2 billion, every quarter, the English not much less.

"They might need big grants out of our budget; they are already raising this question. It's always paraded in some sexy new costume—development aid, agricultural policy, mines, social or regional funds. But these are only a come-on. The fact is that they want our money."

Both the underlying tensions and

the continuing relative stability in West Germany were shown by the ouster of Willy Brandt from the chancellorship over a Soviet-bloc spy scandal. The rise of Helmut Schmidt as head of government reflected a rightward evolution of the Social Democratic party leadership. But Brandt's policy of overtures to the Soviet bloc was not reversed. In fact, at the end of the year Schmidt visited Moscow, among other things, to negotiate for a share of Soviet energy resources.

Growing discontent with the conservative policies of the Social Democrats was indicated by the sharp defeat they suffered in the elections in Hesse this fall. At the same time, the party leadership and the bourgeois press have kept up a furious red-baiting attack on the left-wing elements centered in the Young Socialists. The government approved legislation in March limiting access of known radicals to public employment. Captured members of a small terrorist group called the Red Army Faction were tortured in prison.

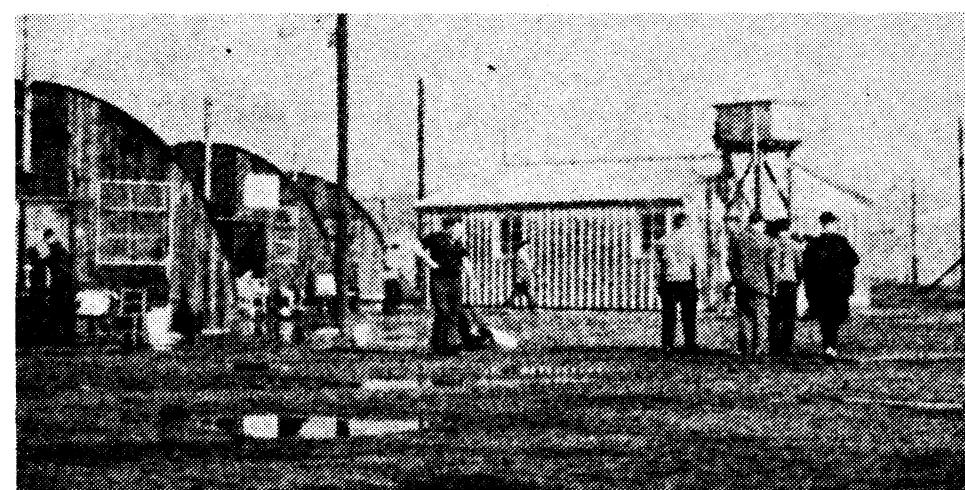
The government and the capitalist press continued a witch-hunt campaign over the alleged "terrorist danger." The campaign reached its height after a Berlin chief justice Günter Drenkmann was assassinated November 10, purportedly in retaliation for the death of a Red Army Faction member, Holger Meins, who died the day before after a two-month hunger strike.

Stalinists Push Popular Fronts

There were four important elections in Europe in 1974, the two British general elections in February and October, the French presidential elections in May, and the Greek general elections in November.

The Greek elections were the second major test in 1974 of the Communist parties' new popular-front offensive, the first being the elections in France. This new push has gained momentum both from the détente and the economic crisis. The combination of these two factors made it possible, for example, for Italian CP representatives to offer their party's participation in a "national unity" government as the only means of stabilizing the country.

"What is the interest of the Western European countries and of the United States?" an "authoritative party spokesman" was quoted as asking. "Are they interested in the kind of Italy as she is now, economically unstable and politically ungovernable? Or are they not interested rather in seeing Italy giving guarantees, to



Long Kesh internment camp in Belfast. Prison rebellions in October touched off new mass upsurge in Northern Ireland.

The problems of the small farmers have increased dramatically.

The position of the coalition government of Labour and Fine Gael, the historically more pro-imperialist bourgeois party, seemed to be weakening rapidly. In the June 1974 local elections in Dublin city, the coalition share of the vote dropped from 54 percent scored in the February 1973 general elections to 47 percent.

The coalition won the 1973 elections on a program of "peace and prosperity." It called implicitly for surrendering the historic Irish national aspirations in return for profitable economic collaboration with imperialism. But in 1974, the coalition proved unable to produce any "peace" or any "progress." It produced only more repression. Since the coalition government has carried the policy of surren-

vantage of pub bombings in Birmingham, which the capitalist press and government attributed to the Provisionals, to launch a witch-hunt against the Irish population in Britain. In the context of threatening economic disaster and the rise of rightist tendencies, this move was particularly ominous. On the other hand, if systematic persecution of the Irish is started, it will almost certainly provoke a strong nationalist reaction on their part.

Foreign Workers Victimized

The question of immigrant workers, which has the longest history in Britain, continued to grow more acute in most of the leading capitalist states as the general economic downturn deepened. A proposal was put to a

substantial gains'

them also, of economic and political efficiency and security?"

The Italian CP was in a position to make such an offer largely because of the defeat of the ruling Catholic party in the May referendum on divorce. The CP sought in every way possible to avoid a confrontation on this question. The growth of the women's liberation movement, also opposed by the Communist party, helped to force an open challenge to Catholic morality.

In Portugal, the pro-Moscow Stalinists had a chance to prove their capacities as a "stabilizing factor." When the dictatorship fell abruptly on April 25 because of contradictions within the bourgeoisie itself, the Communist party was the only force ready and willing to channel the masses behind the Bonapartist military officers who ousted the Caetano regime.

It was the Communist party essentially that enabled the bourgeois military government to contain the mass ferment that boiled over when the dictatorship was removed. By this, it paved the way for a bourgeois clampdown on the entire left, including itself.

At the end of September, the "democratic" and "patriotic" general so much praised by the CP in the first months after the April coup nearly succeeded in carrying out a rightist putsch. At the last minute, to save itself and to avoid being bypassed by more militant groups, the CP agreed to mass mobilizations against the rightists.

However, although the defeat of the Spínola putsch slowed the government's turn to the right somewhat, the crackdown on the left and "irresponsible strikes" soon resumed, with the CP supporting the government's "austerity and hard work" schemes. The party general secretary, Alvaro Cunhal, made it clear that the CP had no intention of following up on the example of the "people's militias" (as Spínola called them) that blocked the September putsch. He was widely quoted as saying the CP didn't need arms because the weapons were "in good hands" already, that is, in the hands of the "democratic" army.

Although the Portuguese bourgeoisie was forced to make more concessions to the nationalist movements in Africa than some elements such as Spínola apparently wanted, the colonial question was far from solved in 1974.

In Greece, the Communist party's

popular-front strategy suffered a rapid and grave setback. The old rightist political boss Constantine Caramanlis refused to include either of the two Communist factions in his cabinet. Instead, he took advantage of the CP's early support to prepare a Bonapartist plebiscite in which voters were given a choice between him and dictatorship. His revived rightist parliamentary party won 55 percent of the vote in the November elections.

The two CPs, which were forced by Caramanlis's maneuver to join in a bloc and try to hold their working-class support, got only a little more than 9 percent at the polls, the worst electoral showing of the Greek Stalinists in decades.

Another factor, apparently, that helped to persuade the Kremlin-recognized "exterior" CP to bloc with the excommunicated "interior" faction was Moscow's decision to step up the pressure for popular fronts and to win more of a role for the Stalinist parties in parliamentary politics. This is apparently one of the aspects of its strategy of détente for capitalist Europe. To achieve this, the Kremlin has been compelled to make concessions both to the more independent elements in the Stalinist camp and to the Social Democrats.

The mid-October meeting of the Communist parties in Warsaw confirmed this policy. In particular, the Kremlin official in charge of relations with the West European CPs, Boris N. Ponomarev, stressed the importance of CP participation in the "democratization" in Portugal and Greece.

Reformist Crutch

As the economic crisis has deepened in Europe, the reformist workers parties have gained a new momentum from the growing discontent and at the same time have become more useful to the bourgeoisie as a means of getting the workers to accept "austerity" measures. In Portugal, this contradictory role of the reformists has been the clearest and its limitations most quickly demonstrated. In Italy also, the dual role of the reformists has been crystal clear. In France, the reformist parties in the Union of the Left were most successful in creating illusions.

In some countries where big Social Democratic parties have been used many times before to persuade the



Italian workers protest rising prices and unemployment. Communist parties are offering their help to capitalists in containing working-class upsurge.

workers to sacrifice their interests for the sake of "the national welfare," Communist parties have taken over some of the role that was earlier played by Social Democrats. This has been the case in Britain, where left bureaucrats and activists affiliated to the CP played a leading role in the unions' resistance to Tory antilabor legislation. In Denmark, CP shop stewards held the initiative in the November mass demonstration outside parliament. In Norway, an alliance of left Social Democrats and pro-Moscow Stalinists seems to have emerged as a significant force in the electoral arena.

Possibility of Sudden Upsurges

If the international capitalist economy continues to move toward a slump at the present rate, these reformists and left reformists will very quickly be put to a decisive test before the masses. In these conditions, revolutionary nuclei can make substantial gains if they put forward a program corresponding to the needs of the masses, and in particular its most oppressed sectors.

On a whole series of social questions such as the oppression of women, of nationalities, of foreign workers, and of youth, the Communist parties have already been outdistanced by mass struggles. This occurred particularly among high-school students in 1974.

In industrial and other economic struggles, the established apparatus of the CPs has put them in a relatively better position. But the coming year may see some sudden upsurges among the workers that both the left and right reformists will have a difficult time controlling. Reformist methods of fighting can often be shown up rather easily as inadequate in a period of sharp economic crisis. And the CPs' détente strategy of alliances with the Social Democrats, and the opening of some Social Democratic parties toward the radical youth in an effort to gain more leverage against their prospective popular-front partners, will make it more difficult to maintain tight bureaucratic control over any mass movement.

The coming year may see even more acute revolutionary tests than the May-June 1968 upsurge in France. In particular, the Portuguese situation has developed rapidly since April.

In Greece, the vote against the monarchy in the December 8 referendum has shown that Caramanlis's victory did not reflect a general conservative

trend. Although the Greek bourgeoisie has been able so far to keep the mass upsurge in Greece under tighter control than its counterpart has in Portugal, the explosive potential may be even greater because of the country's strategic position.

In Spain, the bourgeoisie remained deeply divided over how to achieve a stable political formula to rule a country that has changed greatly over the last decade. Powerful right-wing elements violently opposed making any concessions to parliamentary democracy.

The Arias government carried out a harsh repressive drive in 1974, not only against the left but against petty-bourgeois democratic groups. The first part of the year was marked by the execution of the anarchist Puig Antich, the latter part, by arrests of



Spanish dictator Franco faces increasing problems.

the Democratic Council of Catalonia.

At the same time, a number of sharp workers struggles developed, including a rapidly spreading strike wave in the Barcelona area in July. In December, 200,000 workers and students walked out in the Spanish-ruled part of the Basque country in support of political prisoners.

In 1974, a number of weak spots showed up in the capitalist order in Europe that promise to widen in 1975. The Mediterranean was more than ever the "soft underbelly of Europe," but conditions also seemed to be building up for a new explosion in Ireland. At the same time the pattern was one that could lead to upsurges in unexpected places. It seems certain that as the general economic crisis develops, the unevenness in the European area will increase even more dramatically, as will the variety of issues that can trigger explosions.



Portuguese demonstrators hail fall of Spínola. 'Democratic' and 'patriotic' general praised by Stalinists nearly succeeded in carrying out rightist coup.

2,000 students jailed

Unemployment, inflation spark Malaysian protests

By Jamie Doughney

[The following article appeared in the December 13, 1974, issue of *Direct Action*, a revolutionary-socialist fortnightly published in Sydney, Australia.]

[Although little news of the student upsurge it describes has been carried in the press outside of Malaysia, the struggle there is continuing. According to a report in the December 27 *Far Eastern Economic Review*, the student boycott of the December and January examinations appears to have met initial success—in Ipoh, only sixty of the 650 students turned up for the first-year papers at Ungku Omar Polytechnic.

Undergraduate examinations are scheduled for January 13, and the government has threatened to fail all those who do not take them. Several university lecturers have suggested that the present third term be nullified and a new one held during the long vacation as "a face-saving measure" for the government.

[A further focus for the student struggle will be provided by the upcoming trials of squatters and students arrested during the upsurge in September after the government forcibly removed squatters from a settlement in Johore Bahru and razed their homes. Forty-eight squatters are scheduled to go on trial January 12-14, and five student leaders are to go on trial February 25-26, among them Hishamuddin Rais, the general secretary of the University of Malaya Students Union.]

After a week of concerted protest over the worsening economic situation faced by the masses of people in Malaysia, police have occupied two universities in Kuala Lumpur, and reports indicate that over 2,000 students have been arrested and are currently under detention. The target of the students' actions has been Malaysia's skyrocketing inflation, growing unemployment, and falling rubber prices, which have led to increased poverty and starvation throughout the coun-

try. They were also protesting corruption in the Government.

The demonstrations began on December 3, when 5,000 students took to the streets in Kuala Lumpur. The Singapore daily *The Straits Times* reported on December 4: "More than 1,000 student demonstrators were arrested yesterday following a day-long running battle in which university undergraduates and police fought it out in the streets, at the National Mosque, the General Post Office and various parts of the city.

"The major demonstration of the day was sparked off after about 500 students gathered at the Selangor Club Padang [a park-like area in Kuala Lumpur in which Malaysia's independence was declared and where official celebrations are conducted] in front of the Secretariat building at 9:15 a.m., protesting against inflation and the falling rubber price."

The demonstration was broken up when the Federal Reserve Units, Malaysia's paramilitary riot police who are renowned for their vicious attacks against demonstrations, were sent in, firing tear gas at the students. By that night the number of arrested stood at 1,167.

Other demonstrations took place in Penang and Ipoh, foreshadowing the widespread antigovernment actions which were to continue throughout the week. In these encounters with the FRUs many more students were arrested.

The repression with which the Malaysian Government responded to the protests reflects its complete unwillingness to tolerate any form of opposition. It saw the issues around which the students were demonstrating as particularly threatening. In the previous months actions by rubber workers and peasants over the erosion of their living conditions were becoming more widespread and sharply directed against the Government.

Using the repressive powers at its disposal the Government moved to isolate the student leaders. *The Australian* of December 10 reported that 22 student leaders had been detained under the Internal Security Act. This



Malaysian people have been hard hit by effect of falling rubber prices.

Act provides for those arrested to be detained without trial.

Apart from "civil offences" which can be brought against the students who were arrested, they can also face prosecution under the notorious University and University Colleges Act, which provides the Government with the means of rigidly controlling the activities of the student population. One relevant section of the Act stipulates:

"15 (1) No students' council, faculty students' organisation or any body or group of students of a university shall have any affiliation with, or shall do anything which can be construed as expressing support, sympathy or opposition to any political party or trade union as established and regulated under law or . . . to any unlawful group or body of individuals."

Conviction for these "offences"—offences which clearly prohibit any political activity, including criticism of the Government—would make a student liable for six months jail as well as a fine.

One of the key features of the Government's attack on the students has been the charge that they were inspired by students and student organisations in Australia, New Zealand, and Britain, including radical Malaysians studying in these countries. The Australian Union of Students has come in for particular attack. Michael Richardson, staff correspondent in Singapore, wrote in the December 10 *Sydney Morning Herald*:

"Australian students were attacked by two Malaysian ministers yesterday for allegedly meddling in Malaysian affairs. The influential Home Affairs Minister, Tan Sri Ghazali Shafie and the recently appointed Education Minister, Dr Mahithir Mohamed, also lashed out at New Zealand and British students. . . .

"Both Ministers charged overseas foreign students with indirectly encouraging some Malaysians 'to create a lot of problems in this country.'"

These statements follow earlier attacks by Mahithir on radical Malaysian students studying in Australia and New Zealand, describing them as "neocolonialists out to undermine the nation." The recent cases of Khoo Ee Liam, a Malaysian student who studied in Australia and New Zealand, and Wong Siong Seng, who studied in New Zealand, who were both arrested upon return to Malaysia for having associations with left-wing organisations while overseas, are an example of the Government's intention to intimidate Malaysian students studying in other countries as well as at home.

The economic situation which sparked the student upsurge has become extremely serious for the vast majority of Malaysians. Over the last two years the prices of basic daily

necessities have jumped by 50 to 200 percent. Hard hit have been the prices of beef, milk, sugar, flour, and bread. According to the Kuala Lumpur daily *The New Straits Times* of October 29, the cost of living in Kuala Lumpur is 4 percent higher than in London.

This must also be considered in terms of the buying power of Malaysian workers, whose wages are as low as \$1 [A\$1 equals about US\$1.33] a day. In addition there is a high level of unemployment, around 20 percent, and strikes are forbidden by law. Forty percent of the residents of Kuala Lumpur are squatters and 350,000 peasant families have no land or inadequate land, and this figure increases at a rate of about 10,000 a year.

Along with this, working people and the rural poor have been hit by the decline in rubber prices on the international market, as the imperialist countries aim at driving down the prices of raw materials. In Baling, an area in northern Malaya, the population, most of whom are rubber tappers, have been suffering greatly from the drop in prices as the rainy season has come. To date a minimum of five people have died of starvation, and the figure is most likely higher but obscured by government censorship of reports from the area. Malnutrition is high amongst the whole population of the region.

Reacting to this situation a demonstration of 1,000 people from Kg Weng and Borgor, in Baling, was held on November 19. It was "dispersed" by the FRUs, who attacked it with tear gas. The next day a similar demonstration was held in another part of the region. The following day, November 21, 13,000 people from all over Baling came to demonstrate against worsening hunger but were again attacked by the riot police.

Finally on December 1, when 25,000 again gathered in Baling, some concessions were won from the authorities. Despite the news blackout by the authorities, it is clear that the starvation and semistarvation in Baling is not exceptional but reflective of the situation in all of Malaysia. Also clear is that these demonstrations were one of the major reasons for government sensitivity to the militant protests of the students.

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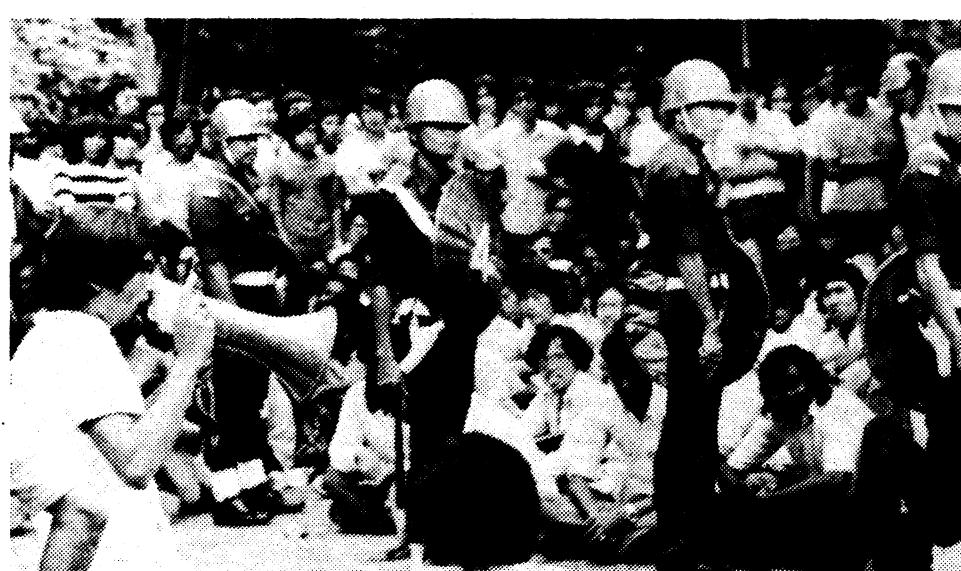
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One of early student demonstrations, with riot police standing by to intimidate protesters.

New threats of oil war

U.S. tells Arabs: 'Knuckle under or else!'

By DAVE FRANKEL

The proprietors of the most massive military apparatus ever seen are threatening to unleash it once again. "In the backrooms of Washington, alarmed policymakers are calling for a showdown with the oil-producing countries before it is too late," wrote columnists Jack Anderson and Les Whitten Jan. 6.

If the oil producers don't knuckle under to U.S. demands, say Anderson and Whitten, "military intervention will become inevitable."

The war talk is coming from other quarters as well. The January issue of *Commentary* magazine, edited by right-wing social democrat Norman Podhoretz, contains a long article lamenting "the absence of the meaningful threat of force" by the United States in the oil dispute.

"Suddenly, we find ourselves in a strange universe," writes a saddened Robert Tucker. A professor of international relations at Johns Hopkins, Tucker sounds as if he has his eye on Henry Kissinger's job. Speaking up stoutly for the good old days of napalm and strategic hamlets, he fondly reminisces:

"We know how the oil crisis would have been resolved until quite recently. Indeed, until quite recently it seems safe to say that it would never have arisen because of the prevailing expectation that it would have led to armed intervention."

As if in answer to the good professor's dreams of a blitz against the Arabs, Henry Kissinger himself pointedly raised the possibility of a U.S. invasion in the Middle East in a year-end interview with *Business Week*. "To make clear that this statement was neither accidental nor casual but rather a deliberate declaration of American policy," wrote the Jan. 20 *U.S. News & World Report*, "the State Department distributed the interview in advance under its own imprimatur. And the White House subsequently announced that Mr. Kissinger was reflecting the views of President Ford."

The White House position was reiterated by Ford in an interview published in the Jan. 20 issue of *Time*.

In the meantime, on Jan. 9, French television viewers were treated to a 20-minute film of U.S. Marines car-



French underestimated power of Arab revolution in Algeria (above), and were driven out after eight years of war. U.S. strategists may be making same mistake.

rying out amphibious maneuvers in sand dunes on the Sardinian coast.

Vice-Admiral Frederick Turner, the commander of the U.S. Sixth Fleet, assured the television audience: "We don't want to invade, but we are prepared."

The escalation of menacing statements from Washington and the appearance of articles such as Tucker's represent a serious attempt to soften up American public opinion for a new military adventure. As Tucker nostalgically notes, 10 years ago Washington wouldn't have hesitated an instant about unleashing the Marines in the Middle East. But times have changed; the experience of Vietnam has made a more circumspect approach necessary.

An opinion poll in the Dec. 16 *U.S. News & World Report* gave an indication of the sentiment in the U.S. Asked, "If need be, should U.S. use armed force to get Mideast oil?" 72.4 percent answered "No."

"We could do it all right," said one general to *New York Times* reporter Drew Middleton, "but would the country stand for it? I doubt it. The 'no-

more-Vietnams' trauma is still very powerful."

To Tucker, as to the unnamed general, the massive opposition to imperialist aggression generated by the slaughter in Indochina is an unfortunate trauma, a psychological quirk that should be eliminated. Insisting that intervention in the Arab-Persian Gulf area would be the best way to put the oil-producing countries back in their place as uncomplaining suppliers to the imperialist vulture, Tucker writes reassuringly:

"Since it [the Arab side of the Gulf] has no substantial centers of population and is without trees, its effective control does not bear even remote comparison with the experience of Vietnam."

So eager is Tucker to win his readers to a favorable appreciation of his vision of U.S. Marines in Kuwait that he conveniently forgets that the Arab population of the Gulf area is comparable to that of Algeria during its eight-year-long war of independence against France. The lack of trees there didn't stop the Algerians from driving the French out of their country.

The threat of force is a constant element in the relations between Washington and the colonial countries that are exploited by U.S. capital. When the Sixth Fleet "shows the flag" in the Middle East, the shah of Iran is reminded that he owes his throne to a CIA-organized coup; the people of Lebanon are reminded of the occupation of their country by U.S. Marines in 1958; the people of Jordan are reminded that their country was publicly threatened with an American invasion in 1970 when it appeared that King Hussein might be overthrown; and the Arab people as a whole are reminded once again that any one of their countries could be next.

The growing danger of Washington resorting to its "military option" in the dispute over oil prices was underlined by the negative reaction of its European allies to Kissinger's threat.

The European imperialists, of course, are motivated not by any principles against military occupations, but by the risk to their own economies if the supply of Mideast oil is interrupted. It was Britain and France, after all, that reacted to the nationalization of the Suez Canal in 1956 by invading Egypt.

In addition to the danger of an interruption in the flow of oil, and of possible Soviet countermeasures, there is a third danger to imperialism that would accompany any U.S. military action over oil: the reaction of the masses. As Kissinger explained in his interview with *Business Week*:

"If you bring about an overthrow of the existing system in Saudi Arabia and a Khadafi takes over, or if you break Iran's image of being capable of resisting outside pressures, you're going to open up political trends that could defeat your economic objectives."

However, whatever tactical doubts and hesitations Kissinger and the other Strangeloves in Washington may have, they have proven repeatedly that they are willing to risk all in their attempts to dominate the world. Horrified as they may be at the thought of an Arabian Khadafi—let alone an Arabian Castro—to them this is just one more risk to be weighed, along with that of nuclear war.

Sadat charges 'Trotskyite plot'

Egyptian workers & students protest inflation

By PETER GREEN

From Intercontinental Press

"Violence hit the streets of Cairo today after a demonstration by 1,000 industrial workers against low pay and high living costs developed into a full-scale riot . . .," *Washington Post* correspondent Michael Tingay reported from Cairo January 1.

The workers were mostly from the Helwan iron and steel complex about fifteen miles south of Cairo, and they were joined by several hundred students and a number of passersby. The demonstrators shouted slogans as they marched on Liberation Square: "Down with the high cost of living," "Sadat, meat costs £2 a kilo [about US\$5.50]," "Nasser, where are you?" "So where is socialism?"

Armed with shields, helmets, and clubs, and firing tear-gas grenades, the police charged the demonstrators, breaking them up into small groups and forcing them down separate streets.

Newsheets published by students at

Cairo University the following day said the workers began their demonstration intending to gather peacefully in front of the offices of a daily newspaper to demand publication of their grievances. A worker on the demonstration interviewed by the *Washington Post* described the worsening economic plight confronting him, and went on:

"We tried to go to the National Assembly meeting. We asked to speak to the speaker of the Assembly, Mr. Sayed Marei, but the area was cordoned off.

"The march moved on to the Interior Ministry, where the minister, Mamdouh Salem, addressed the crowds for 15 minutes with a megaphone. He told us, 'Your problems will be solved and we take note of your demands.' Then the minister of war production told us, 'Go back to your factories.'

According to the *Post*, it was after this address that the violent clashes with the security forces took place.

That night the government issued a decree banning all demonstrations and warning that it would "deal firmly with all forms of violence."

Thousands of spectators watched the demonstration in Liberation Square from an overhead pedestrian bridge. The motives of the demonstrators would have been well understood, noted *Le Monde* of January 3, since "the majority of the townspeople, not to speak of those from the country, suffer more and more from the rising cost of living—which increased about 50 percent since October 1973—from the black market, and from the scarcity of essential products such as tea, rice, sugar, soap, etc." The high prices of shoes (about \$17 a pair) and meat are particularly resented.

Le Monde also pointed out that the demonstration was even more significant since "the Helwan workers, the cherished children of Nasserism, have a privileged life with their pay of £20 a month (about \$55), which is nearly double the minimum salary paid in

industry."

Recent government measures, such as massive imports of wheat or forced reduction of the price of certain items of clothing, have not made much difference. In fact, the liberalized economic policies the government introduced to attract investment have only served to further widen the gap between rich and poor. Stores are stocked with goods that the vast majority of Egyptians cannot possibly afford.

On January 1, it was reported that separate protests erupted in other parts of Cairo when news of the large demonstration arrived. Hundreds of students at Cairo University assembled the following day to demonstrate their solidarity with the Helwan workers. The students shouted slogans demanding that the workers be granted the right to strike. They were then dispersed by security forces sent rapidly to the spot.

Wall newspapers printed by the students reported that the workers also

Continued on page 22

The DuPonts: merchants of death

Du Pont: Behind the Nylon Curtain by Gerard Colby Zilg. Prentice-Hall, Englewood Cliffs, N.J. 623 pages with index. \$12.95.

By DICK ROBERTS

"Why, my fellow citizens," President Woodrow Wilson asked in 1919, "is there any man here, or any woman—let me say, is there any child here—who does not know that the seed of war in the modern world is industrial and commercial rivalry?"

In 1935 Franklin Delano Roosevelt said, "The full measure of America's high productive capacity is only gained when our businessmen and farmers can sell their surpluses abroad. . . . Foreign markets must be regained if America's producers are to rebuild a full and enduring domestic prosperity for our people. There is no other way. . . ."

Wilson's remarks were made a year after World War I, the conflagration that Wilson promised he would keep America out of. Roosevelt spoke at the bottom of the depression. He too would promise to keep America out of war in election campaigns while secretly preparing for U.S. entry into the second world war.

But in these two quotations both presidents ex-

Books

pressed the fundamental reality of capitalism that monopoly has an insatiable drive to expand its markets abroad and, as Wilson frankly admitted, that world war is rooted in this need of monopoly.

The two quotations are taken from Gerard Colby Zilg's remarkable history of the Du Pont family. It is remarkable because Zilg has successfully interwoven the history of one of the most powerful sectors of the American ruling class with the history of the United States, as viewed from the interests of this family—and especially its interest in war.

This is Zilg's first book, and it takes its place among a small handful of outstanding histories of American ruling-class fortunes. In five years of research Zilg managed to accumulate considerably more knowledge about the Du Pont family (the book is more than 600 pages long) than has previously been published.

'Merchants of death'

The Du Ponts became known as the "merchants of death" because of their manufacture of gunpowder, nitroglycerin, and poisonous gas during World War I and the huge profits they reaped from this war. But they began making weapons a lot earlier.

In fact, unlike some of the other big American fortunes, the Du Pont fortune began abroad, in France, where the "original" Du Ponts manufactured gunpowder. They came to the United States in 1800 with the hope of setting up a business here, chased out of their home country by the storm of a revolution they opposed.



E.I. du Pont's original gunpowder mills along Brandywine Creek had only three stone walls; the fourth was made of wood to vent explosions that threw men and machinery across the creek, but left the building still standing.



Irene du Pont, blowing smoke rings while facing Senate committee in 1934. Evidence produced in 'munitions hearings' showed that the Du Pont family had raked in profit increase of 1130 percent during World War I.

And the Du Pont business got off the ground in Delaware in 1803 because Pierre du Pont in France helped urge Napoleon to sign the Louisiana Purchase, and President Thomas Jefferson rewarded Pierre's son Irénée with government gunpowder contracts for the new Delaware firm.

"From his hilltop office overlooking the Brandywine," writes Zilg, "Irénée now watched his mills churn out hundreds of pounds of powder daily, powder that found a ready market thanks to war. Some 22,000 pounds of Du Pont powder were used by U.S. warships in the undeclared war against Tripoli and the other North African city-states. . . ." On July 4, 1805, Jefferson's Secretary of War . . . announced that Irénée's company would do all the government's powder work. Napoleon's puppet government in Spain also ordered 40,000 pounds, much of which was used to crush rebellions by the oppressed Spanish population.

"But to Irénée du Pont there were no victors, no losers, no oppressors or oppressed, and above all, no causes—just rows of wooden casks filled with black powder, and a mounting family treasure."

That treasure, in the subsequent 170 years, became one of the four largest fortunes in the United States (alongside the holdings of the Rockefeller, Mellon and Morgan interests). The Du Pont Chemical Company, through cartel agreements with Britain and West Germany, is the most powerful force in world chemical markets. The largest of all industrial companies in the capitalist world, General Motors, is roughly 17 percent Du Pont owned, a stock value in the billions of dollars.

"If we buy high-test gasoline for our cars," Zilg says, "we are helping to strengthen the Du Pont empire. If our shirts are made of Dacron, or our frying pans of Teflon, we enrich the Du Ponts. . . . If we fly on a Boeing jetliner, ride the Penn Central, drink a Coke, eat a Chiquita banana, or sprinkle Domino sugar over our cereal, we have enriched the Du Ponts."

"Our ties may well be made of Du Pont rayon and colored with Du Pont dyes. Our cars may be upholstered with Du Pont artificial leather and finished with Du Pont lacquers. If we have an X ray taken at a hospital or buy see-through cellophane packages at the supermarket, spread fertilizer on our lawns or Lucite paint over our walls, take home-movies on vacations or fish with a nylon line or hunt with a Remington rifle, we may have just helped buy some Du Pont his next \$600 suit."

Myths of capitalist democracy

Zilg's work pokes holes in many myths of American capitalist democracy—not least, the myth of social mobility. Here is one of the biggest and most powerful American fortunes.

Rarely is the unbridgeable gap between wage labor and capital so vividly illustrated. In their many-hundred room Wilmington mansions, modeled on eighteenth-century French chateaux, the Du Ponts intermarried among themselves and associated for decades only with the highest levels of society.

Yet their fabulous wealth is solely the result of the labor over as many decades of countless thousands of American and foreign workers. Not a few of these workers were blasted to pieces by explosions

or asphyxiated by the poisonous fumes in the Wilmington factories where they labored. Zilg notes with bitter irony how "explosions would blow both men and machines across the creek, sometimes as far as the flower gardens of Du Pont mansions."

The parasitic relation between capital and labor power—so often completely overlooked in American history—is of the essence of that history. The progress of the country from a colony in revolt to the world's number one superpower was inevitably also the progress of monopoly and of the ruling-class fortunes it gives rise to.

The Du Ponts, as munitions makers for the foremost world military power for practically its entire history, could not have fared otherwise. In the 1930s they bought into Remington arms and later into both North American Aviation (now North American Rockwell) and Boeing.

Civil War profits

The Civil War gave birth to most of the dominant sectors of Eastern finance capital. Zilg writes, "By the thousands . . . workers went to die in a fiery holocaust while young industrialists like Andrew Carnegie, Philip Armour, James Hill, John D. Rockefeller, Jay Gould, Jim Fisk, and J.P. Morgan, all in their draftable twenties and all destined to become luminaries in American business history, managed to buy replacements for their numbers in the draft lottery for only \$300."

Staunch opponents of the abolition of slavery up until the war started, the Du Ponts switched allegiance to the North in the Civil War. Their wealth "didn't depend on slave labor," Zilg remarks, "but on a strong, doling Washington, and Lincoln had made contact months before the outbreak of the war."

The Du Ponts upped the price of their gunpowder from 16 cents a pound in 1861 to 33.5 cents a pound by the end of the war, profiting more than \$1-million, and laying the base for the monopoly they built in the decades to follow.

Zilg quotes Harriet Tubman's description of Black soldiers dying in front of Fort Wagner. "And then we saw the lightning," she said, "and that was the guns; and then we heard the thunder and that was the big guns; and then we heard the rain falling and that was the drops of blood falling; and when we came to get in the crops, it was dead men that we reaped."

Zilg continues, "But for the new nobility of industrialists and bankers, the harvest was pure gold. After the war was over, it was they who sat in the seats of power, who held the reins of the new Republican Party, who plundered the nation's natural and human resources. Nothing could be denied them, and they made sure nothing was. It was as if the great war for freedom, with all its sacrifice and suffering, had been for them."

Monopoly building

Monopoly building, the era of trustification, was the order of the day. The Du Ponts put together the Powder Trust to divide the American market, and one by one they hacked down their smaller competitors inside and outside of the trust. By 1881 Du Pont had seized control of 85 percent of the nation's black powder industry.

"By 1897," Zilg writes, "the American market was too small to hold the Du Pont giant. Eugene [du Pont] wanted to branch out across the world,

and the growth of the United States as a world power was a big lever with which to wrench open foreign cartels. . . .

"While the Du Ponts of Delaware were growing richer during the 1890's, most Americans were growing poorer. The economy had boomed, all right. . . . Coal production in 1870 had been 33 million tons; by 1890 American industry was using Du Pont powder to blast out more than 157 million tons. Iron production quadrupled. Silver production increased fivefold; copper output was nine times greater.

"Then American capitalism simply ran out of a continent. Based on the existing technology at the time, there were no more new markets. The problem again became a surplus of capital and goods."

The ultimate result: World War I. Before the war started the Du Ponts had reached munitions agreements with other imperialist powers as well. "With World War I, Du Pont Company moved from a tertiary to a primary American industry, producing 40 percent of all explosives shot from Allied cannons. The Du Ponts didn't flinch a muscle when Secretary of War Baker called them 'a species of outlaws.' They just kept counting their \$1.011 billion in military contracts, the equal of 276 years of previous military business and 26 years of regular business from all Du Pont commodities. . . .

"Profits in 1916 alone reached over \$80 million and there seemed no end to the dizzying shower of gold and blood."

General Motors

It was with the vast profits accumulated in the first world war that the Du Pont family diverted holdings into many other of the most powerful branches of American monopoly. Above all was their most successful of all American investments, not only in the history of the Du Pont family but in American economic history as a whole—the taking over of General Motors (GM) and the building of it into the biggest manufacturing corporation in the world.

It was through GM that the Du Ponts became one of the most pivotal factors in American politics as well as economics. They had long controlled Delaware politics and through one branch of the family were becoming the most important sector in Florida politics as well. (They still hold both these positions today.)

But in the 1920s and 1930s the Du Ponts emerged as primary powers in the Republican and Democratic parties. A former Du Pont secretary and later a director of General Motors, John Raskob, became the national chairperson of the Democratic Party.

The Du Ponts supported Roosevelt in his first election campaign and the initial steps of the New Deal, but they grew to oppose it and by the mid 1930s were by far the largest supporters to right-wing causes, including semifascist organizations, and, Zilg believes, they were involved in an abortive attempt to stage a coup d'état in 1934.

Zilg records one of the most memorable struggles against the Du Ponts, the Great Flint Strike



Support of semifascist groups by Du Ponts did not prevent a reconciliation with Franklin Roosevelt in time for World War II contracts. Above, President Roosevelt and Eleanor Roosevelt pose with Eugene du Pont Jr. and his wife in 1937. In the center are newlyweds Ethel du Pont and Franklin Roosevelt Jr.

of 1936-37 at GM's biggest auto plant. The Du Ponts "spent \$994,855 between 1934 and 1936 for 'detective work' in G. M. plants, including arms and gas; \$419,850 went to the infamous Pinkerton Agency. This spy system was, as the La Follette Committee explained, 'a gigantic commercial enterprise in which employers collaborate with professional spies in assaulting citizens because they exert their lawful right to organize for collective bargaining.'"

But spys, harassment—including murders of Blacks and unionists by the Du Pont-supported "Black Legion" whose ranks were filled with KKKers—failed to halt labor's drive. On Feb. 11, 1937, the Flint strikers succeeded in forcing GM to sign with the United Auto Workers.

World War II

If there is a weakness—and it is minor—that should be mentioned of Zilg's study, it is the lack of space devoted to the preparations by U. S. monopoly for World War II.

There is no question of the utter secrecy that came to surround corporate and government policy in that period and the consequent extreme difficulty of pinning down the facts.

Nevertheless, Charles Beard's *President Roosevelt and the Coming of the War: 1941*, the State Department's *China White Papers* (1949), and even sections of the Pentagon papers, to name a few sources, all show that from at least 1937 on, Roosevelt planned for war and a new expansion of U. S. markets—the extreme obstacle being the deep anti-war sentiment of the American people.

Surely the Du Ponts, whatever they said in public, were promoters of this policy. Both Du Pont and General Motors were well on the way to becoming multinational corporations by this time, not to mention their direct interest in war industries.

In any event, Zilg gives us the results. "Fifty-four new plants at thirty-two locations around the country were built by Du Pont with \$1 billion of taxpayers' money, the company investing only 5 percent. . . .

"By June 1943 Lammot [du Pont] was able to boast that Du Pont was producing more explosives than were being made in the entire country at World War I's peak of production in 1918. In one day, every day, Du Pont produced more explosives than it made for the Union throughout the four years of the Civil War. . . .

"The 1942 *Annual Report* announced the largest sales volume in the company's 140-year history, \$498 million, generating a profit of \$55 million. Then, as now, friends in Washington helped. Former G. M. vice-president Edward R. Stettinius was federal Commissioner for Industrial Materials, while Alfred V. du Pont was consultant to the Joint Chiefs of Staff. . . .

Profit bonanza

"But the real bonanza was netted by General Motors. G. M. grossed \$14 billion in contracts from the War Production Board, which was chaired by none other than G. M.'s own president, William Knudsen, and had Du Pont in-law George P. Edmunds as adviser. The board awarded G. M. one-twelfth of all its contracted funds, and much of this found its way to Wilmington."

Zilg, as can be seen, well understands that in the present epoch, the ruling-class fortunes founded in the nineteenth century did not disappear. They became richer and more powerful, especially as a result of the victory of U. S. imperialism in two world wars.

With the profits of the second world war, the Du Pont empire expanded as never before. Zilg gives the facts and figures down to the present day (including Vietnam war profits and Southeast Asia investment ventures) to prove it.

Zilg advances the thesis that in comparison to the other main sectors of Eastern finance capital (especially the Rockefeller and Morgan sectors), the Du Ponts have been relatively weakened in the postwar period because of their failure to capture any large banks. To a greater degree than any other ruling-class family, the Du Pont interests were consistently refuelled by wars and, at least until recently, they did not have a comparable need of independent financial sources.

This thesis and a number of other points suggested by Zilg are worth further exploration and undoubtedly will be explored as American consciousness of "its own" ruling class deepens. That process gains a very valuable text in *Du Pont: Behind the Nylon Curtain*.



'With World War I, Du Pont Company moved from a tertiary to a primary American industry, producing 40 percent of all explosives shot from Allied cannons.'

Calendar

CLEVELAND

THE WORLD FAMINE: WHO IS TO BLAME? Speakers: Fred Ross, author of two research works on the world food crisis; Jeff Feather, Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., Jan. 24, 8 p.m. 4420 Superior Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (216) 391-5553.

PITTSBURGH

YOU CAN'T AFFORD TO GET SICK: HEALTH CARE IN AMERICA. Speaker: Susie Beck, registered nurse, member of Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Jan. 24, 8 p.m. 3400 Fifth Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (412) 682-5019.

TWIN CITIES

ABORTION: TWO YEARS AFTER THE SUPREME COURT DECISION. Speakers: Mary Hillary, Socialist Workers Party; Beverly Braun, Abortion Rights Council and representative of Elizabeth Blackwell Health Clinic. Fri., Jan. 24, 8 p.m. 25 University Ave. S.E., Mpls. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 332-7781.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

SPECTER OF WORLD FAMINE: A PANEL DISCUSSION. Speakers: Mitch Snyder, Fast for Famine Relief; Erich Martel, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Jan. 24, 8 p.m. 1345 E St. N.W. (Fourth Floor). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 783-2391.

... 'plot'

Continued from page 19

demanded the replacement of their union leaders, whom they accused of not defending their interests. The January 4 *Le Monde* reported that the agitation continued inside the university throughout the morning. Some classes were shut down, and continuous meetings were held in the main amphitheater. On January 4, similar demonstrations took place at Cairo and Ain Shems universities, the January 6 *Christian Science Monitor* reported.

The regime has responded with a harsh crackdown. More arrests were made, and a "plot" discovered. The official Middle East News Agency (MENA) announced January 5 that 120 persons had been questioned, fifty-six had been charged with "anti-state" activities, and seven were regarded as actual "ringleaders" in the demonstration. United Press International quoted sources who said more than 400 persons had been jailed, but an official in the Interior Ministry denied this as "exaggerated."

The previous day MENA had announced the discovery of a "new Communist organization." Pamphlets attacking President Sadat's regime were

seized, the agency added. There was no further amplification on the nature of the new organization. However, the *New York Times* reported that "government officials and members of the National Assembly are known to have used the term 'Trotskyites'... in connection with the alleged ringleaders of the riot. This has been interpreted as an effort to make it clear that the Government is not blaming Communists who are under Soviet influence."

The January 1 action was the most significant protest against the regime since the student demonstrations of 1971. The January 3 *Le Monde* described it as "a severe warning to the authorities." One anti-Sadat slogan chanted by the demonstrators summed up the new angry mood of the masses—increasing disillusion with Cairo's failure to regain the territory seized by the Zionists and mounting discontent with their economic hardships. "Hero of the crossing," they shouted, "where is our breakfast?"

...Texas

Continued from page 18

the city manager, and representatives of the CCBC, it was announced that an agreement had been reached between the CCBC and the city government. A federal mediator was to be called in from the Justice Department's community relations board, and the CCBC agreed to hold no more demonstrations during the mediation.

Justice Department representative Gustavo Gaynatt said the subject of the mediation would be not only the Coleman killing, but "all the issues facing the Black community."

The CCBC vowed, however, to call a meeting to plan a response if the grand jury refused to indict the killer-cops. The Jan. 9 meeting of 2,500 was in response to the grand jury report, which ruled that the cops were "justified in using deadly force" to prevent Coleman's alleged escape attempt.

...CIA

Continued from page 17

that indicated that they had already carefully examined some of the underground publications in question—such as the Berkeley Barb and S.D.S. [Students for a Democratic Society] manuals."

Afterward, the *Times* said, Stein "informed at least one Senator to no avail of his suspicions of C.I.A. domestic activities."

• In addition to the 10,000 Americans the CIA kept files on, the Justice Department gave the agency another list of 9,000 dissenters in 1970, supposedly to check on "foreign influence." According to the *Washington Post*, the list included members of the Black Panthers, the Weatherpeople, and "Vietnam war critics." The CIA snoops found "no conclusive evidence of foreign financing or support for the anti-war movement," the *Post* reported.

to campaigning among high school students, Finkel said, "holding street rallies outside high schools, getting our speakers into the schools, and in some cases actually organizing classes on 'what is socialism.'"

Finkel emphasized that young people who support Camejo and Reid and want to campaign for socialism year-round should be encouraged to become members of the YSA. "It's the YSA's responsibility to let people know about our organization, to let them know we need and want and appreciate their efforts, and that we want them to join the YSA."

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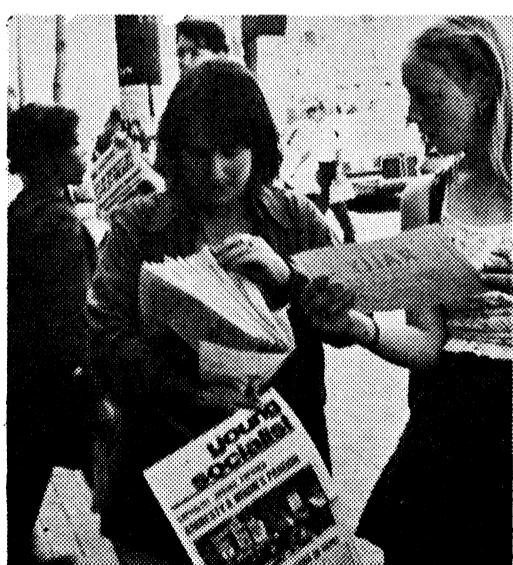
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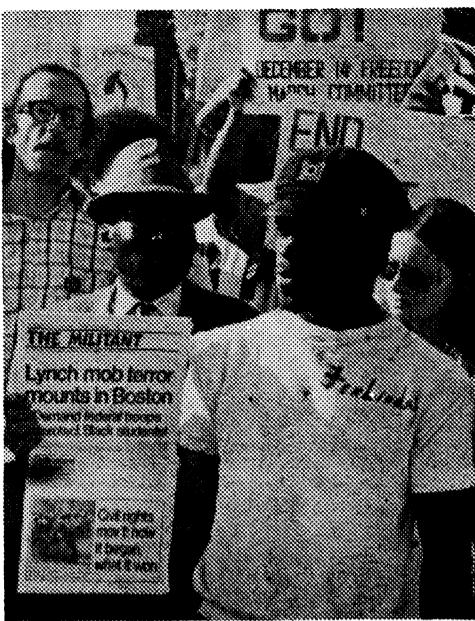
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Occupation for treaty rights

Menominee Indians fight for new hospital

By JOHN SIDEBOTTOM
and LARRY THOMAS

KESHENA, Wis., Jan. 13—Between 1778 and 1871, as the U. S. government expanded westward, it made 389 treaties with Native Americans. Every one of these treaties was broken.

The situation at the Alexian Brothers Novitiate near Gresham, Wis., occupied by Menominee Indians, is another example of the U. S. government breaking a treaty.

According to the treaty between the Menominee people and the government, if land that had been taken from the Menominees is abandoned, the land reverts back to the Menominees. The Alexian Brothers Novitiate and its surrounding land have been unused since 1968. The only occupants were a caretaker and his family.

The Menominee Warrior Society, which led the Indian occupation of the building on New Year's Day, thinks that this unused property should be turned into a much-needed medical center for the Menominee people and run by the Menominees.

Menominee County has the worst health record of all the counties in Wisconsin. One of the Menominees who had participated in the occupation told *The Militant* about conditions on the Menominee Reservation.

"I lived in a two-room log house," he said. "There was an upstairs and a downstairs and we heated the entire house with a small Coleman-like space heater."

"Wages in the area are very low and the unemployment rate, I have heard, is 50 percent now in Menominee County."

On Jan. 7 Wisconsin Governor Patrick Lucey sent 250 National Guardsmen to the Gresham area at the request of local authorities. This number has since increased to 300.

At the beginning of the occupation, state and local police had taken a

hard line toward the Indians. They cut off power, telephones, and heat; refused to allow food to be brought in; disrupted negotiations; and, according to the Menominees, initiated the shooting incidents that took place earlier in the week.

One of the Menominee occupiers interviewed by *The Militant*, who preferred not to have his name printed, said the shooting broke quite a few windows and that "there were several very young children, three to four months old, and a lot of other kids maybe three to five years old, who were in there while the fire was being directed at the novitiate."

The National Guard took a different approach. They turned the power and heat on, allowed food to be brought in, and tried to aid negotiations. News media, however, have been barred from the novitiate.

Wounded Knee

A rally of 140 people in solidarity with the occupation took place Jan. 11 in the town of Keshena in Menominee County. Russell Means, a leader of the American Indian Movement (AIM) and a participant in the Wounded Knee occupation in 1973, said that in his opinion the National Guard would try not to make any move that would gain attention in the press, stalling until "everyone has forgotten what is happening at the novitiate," and then would attempt to break the occupation.

He said that at Wounded Knee, "it wasn't until interest subsided that the government really started firing."

The Alexian Brothers, a Catholic order, are asking \$750,000 for the novitiate and surrounding land. The two possibilities most widely mentioned are that the state or federal government could subsidize the purchase, or that two sympathetic businessmen might buy the property and lease it to the Menominee Warrior Society until the society could repay the loan.

The Alexian Brothers have proposed selling the property to the Menominee Reservation Committee, the official governing body on the reservation, rather than to the Warrior Society. The Reservation Committee has denounced the occupation as "unethical" and "anarchy."

Local organizing efforts in support of the Menominee Warrior Society are taking place at the Keshena Youth Drop-in Center. Contributions of food and clothing have been coming into the center from around the state.

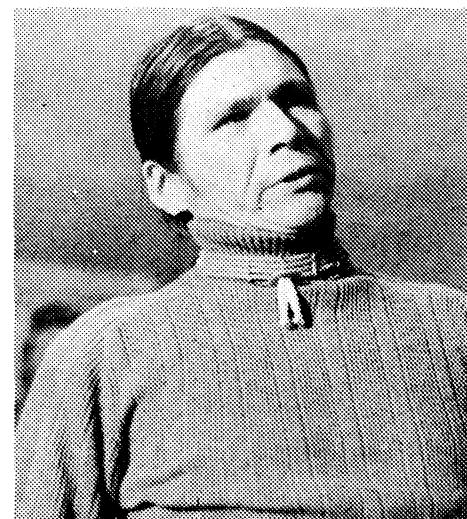
Racists organize

Some white residents of the nearby town of Shawano have organized racist rallies demanding that the National Guard immediately expel the



Denver picket line Jan. 11

Militant/Frank Lord



Militant/Linda D'Rand

Dennis Banks of American Indian Movement.

Menominees from the novitiate by force. On Jan. 11 about 100 whites, armed with pistols and deer rifles, held a rally in opposition to the right of Indians from other areas to come into the area in support of the Menominee occupation.

On Jan. 12 a Shawano town meeting was called in an attempt to cool things down. About 300 townspeople were present.

Doug Durham, an AIM representative; Neal Hawpetoss, the chief negotiator for the Menominee Warriors Society; and Colonel Hugh Simonson, commander of the National Guard troops, tried to answer some questions, but it was almost impossible for them to complete a sentence because of the jeering of the whites in the crowd.

As soon as Neal Hawpetoss, a Menominee, walked in, he was booed and jeered. The atmosphere was highly charged and blatantly racist.

The first to address the crowd was Simonson, who was greeted with shouts of "Simple Simon!" He finally managed to receive some applause when he labeled the Indians inside the novitiate "criminals." A response from the crowd at this point was "Send in tanks and clean them out."

Every time the word "hospital" came up, the response was boos and shouts of "on the reservation, not in the abbey!" A racist asked Hawpetoss, "Have you people ever thought of going to work and earning what you

want?" When he answered that he was a school teacher, this drew more jeers and abuse.

Need national support

In this volatile situation, it is imperative to get out the truth about what the Menominees are fighting for and increase the demonstrations of support from around the country.

Solidarity actions have taken place in a number of cities. Dennis Banks and Neal Hawpetoss spoke to a rally of 200 people Jan. 10 in Milwaukee. After the rally a number of people joined a caravan from Chicago taking food and supplies to Gresham. A picket line was held in Denver on Jan. 11.

The Menominee people are up against powerful opposition—including the duplicity of the federal government, the racism of local whites, and the hypocrisy of the Catholic church.

The paternalism and racism that Indians have faced in this country for hundreds of years was exemplified in a statement by Brother Florian Eberle, head of the Alexian Brothers Order. He said the order might have given the novitiate to the Menominees if they hadn't resorted to an armed takeover.

Now, he said, "I will not give it over."

National support from other Native American peoples and all supporters of human rights can help strengthen and encourage the Menominees in their struggle.